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BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

IN THE

FEDERAL TREASURY BOARD

A Staff Report for the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Public Services Division: Project 82 O-238

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The general goals of the project were those of the Public Service Division of the Commission's research staff:

- 1) To describe and explain the linguistic-cultural character of the public service, largely in English-French terms.
- 2) To study and evaluate programs and adjustments towards a bilingual-bicultural service which lend themselves to centralized direction.
- 3) To study and evaluate programs and adjustments towards a bilingual-bicultural service in agencies and groups of agencies which reflect the public service generally.

These goals were all the more important in this study because the subject of research, the federal Treasury Board and its Secretariat, is a key part of the machinery for central administrative direction in the federal public service.

The study was carried out largely through a series of over forty informal interviews, in both French and English, with the senior officers of the Secretariat and other senior public servants. While each interview covered the same general

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- 1) To describe and explain the linguistic-cultural character of the public service largely in terms of the bilingual and bicultural aspects of its organization and adjustment towards a bilingual-bicultural service which is a national and cultural distinction.
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The Report is divided into three parts: a first one dealing with the organization and functions of the Treasury Board and its Secretariat, a second one dealing with bilingualism, both within the Treasury Board and in the Treasury Board's relationship with other agencies of government; and a third part dealing with the general problem of bilingualism in the public service.

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PART I

THE TREASURY BOARD

Functions

Control over money is one of the most important tools of management in any large modern organization. Practically everything that an organization or administrator might want to do costs money, and practically any change in a way of doing a job produces changes in patterns of spending and budgetting. By examining proposals for expenditure or for changes in the ways of expenditure, management in a large organization keeps track of what is being done, and how things are being done. By permitting or refusing various proposed expenditures management directs policies, programs, administrative organization and procedures, and the hiring and use of personnel. Because of the importance of money to administration, the agency which controls money has a unique and very powerful central administrative position.

The power of the central financial agency is enhanced in a parliamentary system of government because control over the public purse by Parliament and the executive is one of the most important bases of responsible, parliamentary, government. The executive in the Canadian parliamentary system has funds to spend only in amounts and for purposes approved by Parliament. Annually the executive prepares a comprehensive budget bringing together all the estimates of expenditure on one side, and all the estimates of revenue on the other. After this budget is

approved by Parliament it becomes a basic control document over administration, and the plans expressed in it cannot be changed without the approval of Parliament. The executive must account to Parliament on its use of funds at the end of the fiscal year.

Ultimately the cabinet is responsible for the budget and the use of funds in a parliamentary government. But in a government like Canada's, because of the large size and complexity of the administrative organization, and because of the enormous amount of study and planning that has to go into making a good budget which gives best value for money spent, the responsibility for preparing the expenditure side of a budget is delegated by Cabinet to a specialized central budgetary agency. This central budgetary agency is responsible also for examining changes in budgets, and because it has these two key functions - control over plans for expenditure and control over proposals for change in plans - it has a key central management position.

The central budgetary agency in Canada is the Treasury Board, a committee of cabinet. Its powers are outlined by the Financial Administration Act, which says:

5. (1) The Treasury Board shall act as a committee of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada on all matters relating to finance, revenues, estimates, expenditures and financial commitments, accounts establishments, the terms and conditions of employment of persons in the public service, and general administrative policy in the public service referred to the Board by the Governor in Council or on which the Board considers it desirable to report to the Governor in Council, or on which the Board considers it necessary to act under powers conferred by this or any other Act.

7. The Treasury Board may make regulations ... necessary for the efficient administration of the public service.

This and other acts give the Board extensive powers over departmental programs and organization, over personnel administration within the public service, and over the general administrative rules and practices of the public service.

In the areas under its purview, the Treasury Board makes the final effective decisions, that is to say, the departments and agencies of government only have authority to do what Treasury Board has approved. On very infrequent occasions the cabinet will overrule a decision of the Treasury Board, but in normal times this happens so rarely as to be unimportant. Departments and other agencies will have given intensive thought to a proposal before it is submitted to Treasury Board. The Board, with its unique central position, has to balance the needs of one department with the needs of another, and with the welfare of the overall public service structure. Through its decisions on individual departmental requests, and through the rules it makes, the Treasury Board establishes the patterns of administration, and what constitutes 'efficiency', and 'inefficiency', in the federal government.

Many of the problems the Treasury Board now faces, like the problem of bilingualism in the public service, are a product of the past development of the Canadian public service. Some of these are outlined in Appendix "A", 'The Historical Development of the Treasury Board'.

Organization

The Treasury Board is not a department of government with the customary department-minister relationship. Instead of being directed by a single minister, as are departments, it is directed by a collegial body, a board, composed of six ministers of the Crown. The Minister of Finance has normally been chairman of the Treasury Board. Ministers are appointed to the Board by order-in-council. Each of the members, including the chairman, has the normal ministerial responsibility for a department of government as well as his duty as a member of Treasury Board.

It is customary for the membership of the Treasury Board to represent the different regions of Canada. There are at least one and sometimes two French-speaking members from Quebec. However, the Minister of Finance, the chairman of the Board, has never since confederation been a French Canadian.

The Treasury Board normally meets once a week, for a half-day session, to consider business. Virtually every item which the Board considers at these sessions will have been previously examined by the Secretariat to the Board, and will have attached to it a summary of content matter and recommended action which has been prepared by the Secretariat. Most of the items dealt with by the Board are submissions from departments or agencies requesting funds or authority. The Board also, on the initiative of its Secretariat, issues regulations governing personnel, administrative, and financial matters.

In a normal year the Treasury Board will receive about 16,000 submissions from departments and agencies. This means that the Board has to review about 300 requests at each weekly meeting. In handling this large volume of work, the Board is guided to a great extent by a previous examining of submissions by its Secretariat. Since many of the departmental requests fall into standardized classes requiring routine treatment, the Board has developed the time-saving practice of separating these routine submissions from those which require closer examination by the Board. Over 80 per cent of the submissions received by the Board are routine. The Board rarely discusses or even looks at these routine items.

The Board rarely reverses the recommendations of its Secretariat on the fifty or so items it considers more closely each week. When it does reverse a recommendation it can be on any of many different grounds such as regional interests, economic considerations, or broader political factors.

Because the Minister of Finance and the other members of the Treasury Board all have heavy departmental responsibilities they can give little time to the work of the Board. According to the Glassco Commission:

The result has been to place most of the burden of central direction on the permanent staff of the Board and especially its Secretary. Even if this unintentional devolution of such functions to appointed officials were acceptable - which is seriously questioned - it cannot be effective on any major issue of programme control or administrative policy. Such issues, which arise constantly can be settled only at the ministerial level and there is, therefore, a need for continuous leadership by a minister with no departmental responsibilities to direct his attention or prejudice his viewpoint. (Glassco, V.I., p. 54).

The Commission strongly recommended that a full-time President of the Treasury Board be appointed to give the necessary ministerial leadership and direction to the Board. So far, the recommendation of the Glassco Commission to appoint a full-time President of the Treasury Board has not been adopted.

THE TREASURY BOARD SECRETARIAT

Recently the Treasury Board Secretariat has been reorganized in line with the recommendations of the Glassco Commission. These changes are affecting organization procedures, and personnel. Because the changes are now going on at a rapid rate, it is difficult to give a static description of the Secretariat. The description below leans towards describing the Secretariat as it will be when the reorganization is completed.

Organization and Functions

Although for administrative convenience the Secretariat of the Treasury Board forms part of the Department of Finance, the Secretariat operates quite separately from the Department. For the purposes of planning, budgeting, staffing, organization and operations the Secretariat is an autonomous unit. It is headed by the Secretary of the Treasury Board, who has the rank of a deputy minister in the public service. Beneath him, for the fiscal year 1965-6, were 191 staff positions, of which about half were officer, or relatively senior, appointments. Chart I shows the organization of the Secretariat in April 1965. The number of approved positions for 1965-6 is shown in brackets.

The Secretary is responsible for the preparation of agenda for the Treasury Board, attends the meetings of the Board, and when needed provides additional information orally to the Board. He is responsible for recommending regulations and policies to the Treasury Board, and implementing them when they are approved. He directs the work of the Secretariat.

Shown on Chart I as attached to the Secretariat in April 1965 were three special, temporary units. The Special Assistant was helping the Secretary to reorganize the Secretariat in conformity with the recommendations of the Glassco Commission and the future duties envisaged for the Treasury Board. The Senior Advisor, Bureau of Government Organization, was keeping track of and encouraging the implementation of Glassco Commission recommendations throughout the public service. The Planning Group on Staff Relations was preparing the Secretariat, and especially the Personnel Policy Branch, for the advent of collective bargaining in the public service and the consequent transfer of additional functions to the Board.

The Administrative Services Branch provides general housekeeping services to the Secretariat, including accommodation, equipment, and accounting. It assists in the preparation of manuals and directives, and takes part in the analysis of systems and procedures in the Secretariat.

The Central Data Processing Branch is not, in terms of function, closely related to the rest of the Secretariat. It is likely to move to another organizational location. It has not been considered in this study.

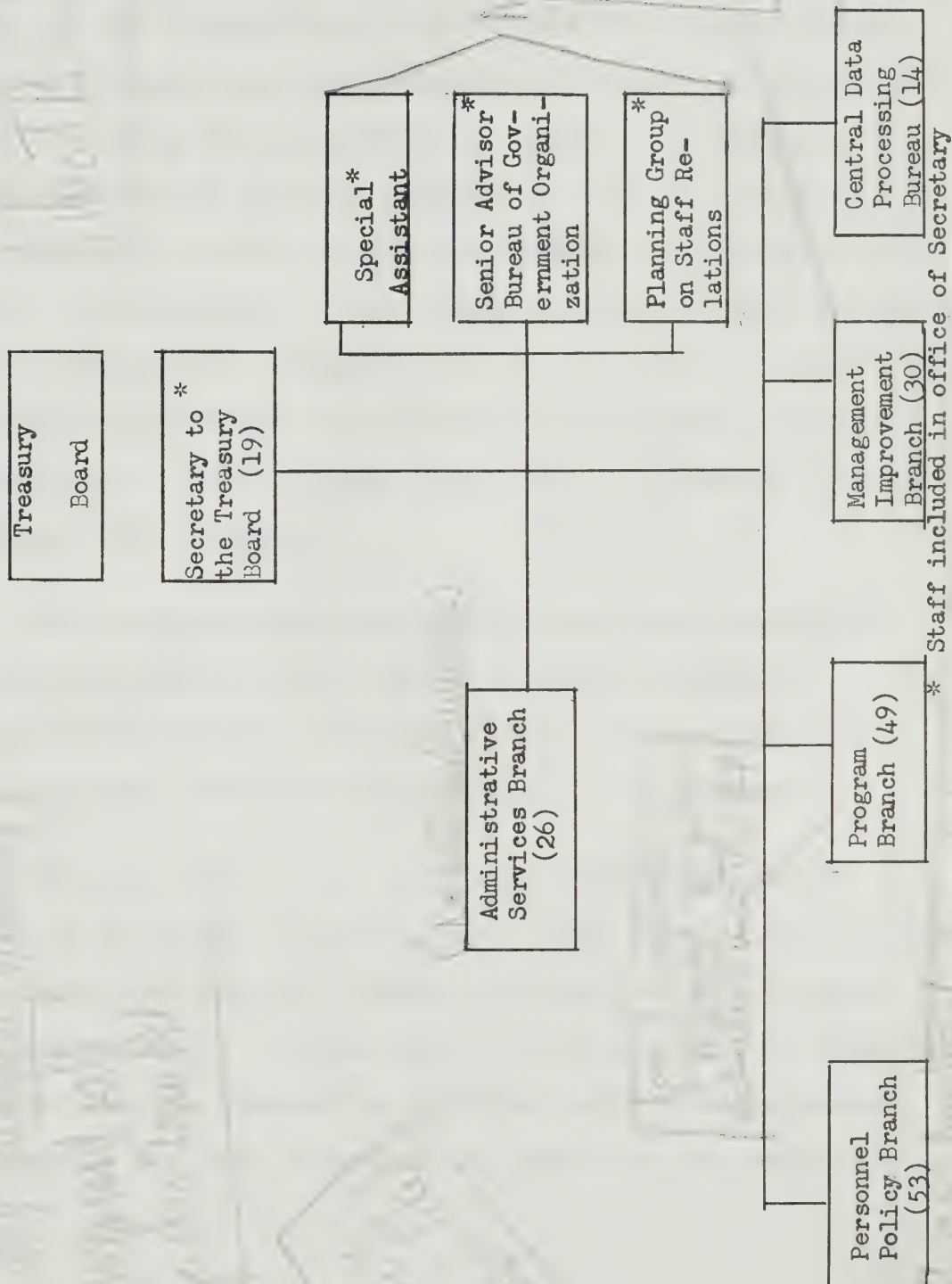
The three major branches of the Secretariat are the Personnel Policy Branch, the Program Branch, and the Management Improvement Branch. Each of them is headed by an assistant secretary. Because the Secretariat is in the process of being remolded, it is difficult to describe the organization and functions of these three branches. They are changing rapidly, as is indicated by the existence, at a senior level, of two temporary groups whose task is to plan for and encourage internal change - the Senior Advisor and the Planning Group on Staff Relations. The descriptions below of the three major branches will not give a detailed outline of organization and procedures - because of this rapid change - instead they will outline in general terms the functions and relationships with departments and agencies envisaged for each of the three main branches.

The Program Branch

Most contacts of the Treasury Board with departments and agencies are conducted through the Program Branch. For each department and agency there is a program officer in the Branch with whom it generally deals. These program officers handle most departmental submissions and where necessary refer them to the Personnel Policy Branch or the Management Improvement Branch for action. The Branch does not generally initiate studies, but analyzes matters coming from departments.

Chart I

Organization of the Treasury Board Secretariat, April 1965



* Staff included in office of Secretary

Much of the work of the Program Branch arises from the preparation of the estimates for expenditure which are submitted to Parliament. The Branch sets the form of the estimates, and establishes the procedures by which they are prepared. In the preparation of estimates the Program Branch assists the Treasury Board in weighing priorities at different levels, first among the programs of a single department, then among departments and agencies engaged in related functions, and then among the various functions performed by the government. The form of the estimates is now being changed in order to identify costs more closely with programs, and to help permit responsibility for the handling of funds to be devolved effectively to departmental management. The Program Branch has an important role in facilitating these changes.

The Program Branch deals with questions arising out of the approved estimates. It handles a wide variety of submissions concerned with the timing and implementation of approved programs, and with changes in approved programs.

Program officers are informed about departmental operations by a variety of techniques. They discuss many problems with departments, frequently before they come to the Treasury Board as submissions. Program officers are expected to make field trips to familiarize themselves with the work of departments. They frequently sit with departmental personnel on committees

examining problems of departmental organization and program. They also sit on inter-departmental committees developing regulations or procedures for handling problems affecting several department and agencies.

The Branch has been criticized in the past for keeping too detailed a control over departments, and of looking mainly at small, relatively unimportant questions. To permit it to concentrate on broader and more influential issues, the Branch expects to devolve much control over details of management to departments.

Then, to exercise an influential control over departments, and agencies, the Branch expects to be increasingly involved in long-range planning. By the time a significant proposal appears in the budget estimates it has undergone several years of development. To be an effective influence on programs and organization the Program Branch must be involved when the plans are made, perhaps several years before a proposal is crystallized as a specific estimate. As part of its involvement in long-range planning, the Branch is encouraging the development of better planning techniques and is beginning to use five-year expenditure forecasts as a basis for evaluating and controlling departmental operations.

The Branch looks at many aspects of departmental operations. It is expected to develop criteria for the appraisal of departmental operations; to evaluate proposals, performance, and management; to analyze departmental submissions to Treasury Board; to ensure the consistent application of government policy in departments and agencies; to identify problem areas in departments and agencies; and to promote good management. In looking at these areas, the Program Branch is concerned largely with economic considerations, fiscal rectitude, and the standards of good management.

The Personnel Policy Branch

Like the Program Branch, the Personnel Policy Branch is changing rapidly. The changes are in part caused by change in the way in which the Branch exercises control over departments and agencies, and in part by new functions assigned to the Branch with the advent of collective bargaining in the public service and the transfer of authority from the Civil Service Commission.

At present the Personnel Policy Branch is concerned with a wide variety of personnel matters. It establishes rates of pay and related conditions of work for many employees outside the scope of the Civil Service Act. The Branch analyzes and makes recommendations to Treasury Board on a wide variety of submissions from departments and agencies concerning specific questions of superannuation, travel and removal expenses, and other personnel matters. It drafts regulations governing many areas of personnel administration. It is assisting to prepare an inventory of manpower in the public service.

The Branch analyzes, for the Treasury Board, proposals for training programs which will entail expenditure. Through this the Branch has had a measure of control over language training in the public service. The Personnel Policy Branch has sponsored training programs in personnel and financial management designed to prepare staff to meet the needs of the public service.

The Glassco Commission criticized both the Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission for closely and restrictively controlling personnel administration in the public service. The Commission recommended that much of the personnel work of both agencies be devolved to departments and that the central personnel management function be transferred to the Treasury Board. Implementation of this recommendation would leave the Personnel Policy Branch with a general and powerful central role in personnel administration. Although these recommendations have not yet been implemented, it appears likely that they will be, and within the foreseeable future the Treasury Board will fulfill the central management functions of developing, regulating and evaluating personnel administration in the public service.

As a preliminary part of improving personnel administration in the public service the previous complicated and unwieldy classification system has been revised into a proposed system which reduces the number of classes from close to two thousand to less than a hundred. This new system will provide a better base for manpower statistics, training and career development programs, salary structures, and collective bargaining.

Implementation of the new system is expected to begin in the near future. When it is adopted, the Treasury Board will be responsible for keeping the classification system up-to-date, and for monitoring departments to ensure that they do an accurate and consistent job of classification.

The Treasury Board will be responsible for ensuring that adequate statistics on manpower are maintained. These statistics will provide the basis for manpower planning, and will suggest the need for training programs to fill needs or to counteract technological obsolescence. They will provide a basis for recruitment and training plans in the public service.

The role of the Personnel Policy Branch in training will be 'to guide, inspire and evaluate'. While departments of the Civil Service Commission might conduct the actual training programs, the Personnel Policy Branch will identify needs for training, and evaluate the results of training programs.

The role of the Treasury Board will be greatly affected by the introduction of collective bargaining, which both major political parties, in the election campaign of 1963, promised to introduce. A 'Preparatory Committee on Collective Bargaining in the Public Service', which was established under the Chairmanship of A.D.P. Heeney, presented in a report of July 1965 the outlines of a system of collective bargaining and a draft of a proposed 'Public Service Staff Relations Act'. If the necessary legislation

He is to study - what all things are to be done

is approved by Parliament, a system of collective bargaining will be introduced gradually over the next few years.

Collective bargaining will place the Treasury Board on one side of the table as the representative of the employer, and staff associations on the other side as representatives of the employees. While in the beginning pay and closely related matters such as hours of work and shift differentials will be the subject of bargaining, it is expected that discussions at the bargaining table will be far-reaching, and in the future agreements might cover other subjects.

Initially, to be certified as a bargaining agent, a staff association will have to represent a majority of the members of a nation-wide employee classification, although two associations can group together to form one bargaining agent. It is possible in the future for other bargaining agents, perhaps representing regional groups, to be certified. French-speaking civil servants will be a minority in most of these nation-wide employee classifications.

The Management Improvement Branch

The Management Improvement Branch has been recently organized "to stimulate and guide an urgently needed programme of continuous improvement in operating systems and procedures throughout the machinery of government". (Glassco I, 64). As Part of its work the Branch prepared regulations governing land transactions,

contracts, purchase of equipment, and other similar areas, and examines departmental submissions to Treasury Board in these areas. One of the criticisms of the Glassco Commission was that these functions were carried out by means of unnecessarily restrictive and detailed controls. In accordance with the Glassco philosophy the Management Improvement Branch is developing plans to reduce the amount of detailed regulation and delegate much of the authority to make decisions to departments and agencies. Contracts, equipment, and land transactions are a legacy of the earlier system of control, and are not part of the main work of the Branch. It has recruited a group of specialists in various aspects of management techniques who will identify the need for improvement in management policies and techniques, will organize research to develop proposals for improvement, and who will encourage the implementation of reforms. Among the areas in which the Branch will be involved are data processing, operations research, information services, accounting and cost controls, management services, and the machinery of government.

As one aspect of its interest in management efficiency, the Management Improvement Branch will likely be involved in evaluating the success of the public service in the recruitment, selection, transfer, development, and appraisal of management personnel. The Branch is in the process of developing a system of 'executive audit' by which the effectiveness in departmental management in using human, physical and financial resources, and

in fulfilling legislative and administrative policy can be appraised. In general terms the work of the Branch is directed towards encouraging effectiveness and efficiency in the public service.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN THE SECRETARIAT

Under the three major branch heads in the Secretariat (who have the rank of Senior Officer Two with a salary of \$16,500 - \$20,000) are Division Heads (Senior Officer One, \$14,500 - \$18,000). The general officers below the Division Heads range from Administrative Officer One to Finance Officer Six. More than fifty per cent of them are Finance Officer Four (\$9,140 - \$10,700) to Finance Officer Six (\$14,100 - \$15,100).

A characteristic of the Treasury Board Secretariat is that it has a large number of vacancies at the officer level. Partly, at present, the large number of vacancies is due to the creation of new positions because of the reorganization of the Secretariat. On July 21, 1965, the Treasury Board had forty-five per cent of the total officer establishment.

By Branch the vacancies were:

Personnel Policy Branch	-	14 vacancies
Program Branch	-	13 vacancies
Management Improvement Branch	-	5 vacancies
other parts of the Secretariat	-	10 vacancies

The senior officers of the Secretariat were not agreed on the reasons for the vacancies, or whether the Treasury Board had a relatively harder job than other departments in recruiting staff. The argument was made that the Board's prestige made the job of recruitment somewhat easier. On the other hand the opinion was expressed that the Board had a negative reputation owing to its role as a control agency and that this made recruiting more difficult. Allied to this was the fact that Treasury Board experience made officers attractive to departments and created a relatively rapid turnover. Several officers suggested that the Secretariat has traditionally Anglo-Saxon image and that this might deter potential French-Canadian recruits from applying. Regardless of the reasons, the Secretariat normally has many staff vacancies and is constantly looking for qualified staff - English or French.

Recruitment for the Treasury Board Secretariat is done through the Civil Service Commission. The Secretariat outlines the qualifications required for the position and supplies one member of a three man selection board. The division heads normally sit on the boards.

Recently, because of the large number of vacancies, the recruitment procedure has changed. A continuing competition has been set up, which means that appointments can be made wherever qualified candidates are found. The division heads have recently been urged to seek potential staff members, and have been assured they can keep the staff they find.

Not all applicants for Secretariat posts are attracted by the formal advertisements and notices of competition. Much recruitment is carried out through informal personal contacts. Several officers mentioned that the informal methods of recruitment were related to ethnic factors - English Canadians tended to attract English Canadians, and French Canadians tended to attract French Canadians.

Previous System of Recruitment and Career Development

Recruitment

The past practice of the Treasury Board Secretariat was to recruit directly from university graduates. Normally, bright "generalists" were preferred and the subject of university work was not of great significance. Although many of the officers now in the Secretariat were recruited in this manner, few new Treasury Board Officers are now recruited directly from University.

The most specific criterion the Secretariat sets for potential recruits is that they should have a university degree, but this has not been demanded in all cases. Equivalent experience or training has been accepted. The kind of university training has not been important in the past because the Secretariat has normally looked for well-rounded generalists rather than specialists in various management fields.

Personal qualities are an important factor in selection. The senior officers of the Secretariat felt that the ability to meet and deal with people, including senior departmental officers, was very important. Other qualities mentioned several times as being valuable were initiative and persistence. The ability to write well was considered important.

Career Development

Promotion has normally been rapid for satisfactory Treasury Board employees. If an officer performs adequately, it has been the practice that he could expect promotion every two years. Some Treasury officers suggested that this was among the most rapid rates of promotion in the public service.

Because it was customary to recruit from recent university graduates, an extensive period of training was normally required. The staff of the Board was relatively small, and recruits were trained by being attached to experienced officers. Within a few years they became familiar with the 'Treasury Board way of doing things', and could assume greater responsibilities. The small size of the Secretariat permitted a recruit to become familiar with its general organization and functions.

After this initial period in the Secretariat a judgement could be made of whether or not a recruit had the capacity to become a good Treasury Board officer. If so, it was usual for the officer to stay with the Treasury Board for a long time, normally making much of his career within the Secretariat.

It has been normal for Treasury Board officers, when they leave the Secretariat, to continue within the federal public service. For example, seven of eight officers to leave the Program Branch within a twelve month period went to other government departments or agencies.

Future System of Recruitment and Career Development

The system proposed for the future has arisen very largely out of the recommendations of the Glassco Commission. The Commission recommended that the Secretariat be staffed by more senior and more experienced officers who would serve only relatively short periods in the Secretariat. This system of rotation was intended to make the departments and the Treasury Board more sensitive to each other's different needs and interests. The development of common viewpoints through a variety of experience was expected to be a potent means of achieving consistency in administration. It was expected to make much of the previous detailed regulation by Treasury Board unnecessary. The rotation system was also intended to be part of a career development and training program for senior, and potential senior civil servants. It would apply to the top few thousand civil servants.

Recruitment

Under the new system, most new employees of the Treasury Board will have previous administrative experience. A recruiting poster for 1965 stated that academic requirements will normally include university graduation and that 'minimum qualification requirements

include: a number of years of progressively responsible experience in work related to the investigation, analysis and resolution of administrative or technical problems; a knowledge of government administration and Canadian Affairs; demonstrated ability to prepare concise analytical reports and interpretative correspondence and to establish and maintain effective working relationships with senior officials; personal suitability...'

In effect, under the new system, the Secretariat is looking for employees who have demonstrated the potential it previously looked for in university graduates. They will be the same kind of person, but several years more advanced in their careers. Correspondingly, they will increasingly be recruited at a higher salary level.

The majority of officers will come in from other departments and agencies, although because of the demand for specialized skills within the Secretariat some officers may be recruited from other sources. For example, industrial relations experts to handle collective bargaining may not be available within the public service.

Career Development

The Glassco Commission recommended that Treasury Board officers should not serve for long periods within the Secretariat. The Commission felt that the practice of long stays in the Secretariat tended to limit the Treasury Board officers understanding of departmental programs and problems. The officers of the Secretariat suggested that five to eight years within the Secretariat might be a reasonable time-span under the new system.

Transfers to and from departments will be made through a system of rotation which as yet is largely unplanned. Senior personnel officers in departments, and an advisory committee on senior appointments are likely to assist in administering the system.

TRAINING OF SECRETARIAT STAFF

At present training of new employees in their work for the Treasury Board Secretariat is done by what might be called a process of osmosis, or, as one officer commented, 'there isn't any'. New employees are given some time to acquaint themselves with the Board and then they are placed under a director who watches and guides their work fairly closely for some time. This process takes about two years.

As part of an attempt to make their personnel management a model for other government departments the Treasury Board and the Department of Finance have recently jointly recruited an experienced personnel administrator to organize personnel practices and procedures for the two agencies. A formalized induction process for new employees has been developed. It is expected that under the new arrangements the training and career development of Treasury Board officers will be planned and organized to a greater degree than at present.

Several training courses outside the Secretariat have been used by Treasury Board officers. The Civil Service Commission organizes annually a 17 week course for senior public servants which Treasury Board officers can attend. In the last course, two weeks were oriented to the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism, including a three-day trip to Quebec city. A Treasury Board officer who attended this course commented that the two weeks had helped change a lot of English-Canadian attitudes that had developed through ignorance.

Officers of the Secretariat have, on occasion, attended the Canadian National Defence College courses for senior officers, and courses of the British administrative staff college. In the summer of 1965 an employee was studying French full-time prior to attending the French National School of Public Administration. These courses are, very roughly, a year in length.

PART IIBILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM WITHIN THE
TREASURY BOARD SECRETARIATPersonnel

Table I shows how the officers of the Treasury Board Secretariat divide along cultural lines. This table divides the officers into two groups: French-speaking and English-speaking. An officer was considered French-speaking if at least two out of three of his mother tongue, language of basic schooling, and home language were French. The clerical staff of the Secretariat has not been included in this analysis.

Almost thirteen per cent of the officers of the Secretariat are French-speaking according to this criterion. This compares with the twenty-eight per cent of the Canadian population who in 1961 gave French as their mother tongue. It is approximately the same as the percentage of French-speaking Canadians in roughly equivalent positions throughout the public service.

If the Treasury Board Secretariat is classified according to the census definition of ethnic origin then fifteen per cent of the officers would be French-Canadian. This is roughly equal to the percentage of French Canadians

in the managerial and professional group of the public service as a whole.

Table I shows that there is a very low proportion of French-Canadians in the Program Branch (one out of thirty-two officers), while there is a relatively high proportion grouped in the others, especially the Personnel Policy Branch. In part, this grouping is attributable to the recruiting procedures: several French Canadians have been recruited through other French Canadians already on staff.

Use of French and English

Several factors related to its position affect the use of English and French in the Treasury Board Secretariat. Because the Treasury Board has no problem of service to the public and is only rarely in direct contact with non-governmental organizations, it does not have a problem of linguistic relations with an outside clientele. The language used at Treasury Board meetings is exclusively English, and all items prepared by the Secretariat for the Board's consideration are in English. Thirdly, the Treasury Board communicates usually only with the higher echelons of other government departments. Since these are generally English-speaking, the clientele of the Treasury Board does not create a demand of bilingualism in the Treasury Board.

*
TABLE 1 - FRENCH CANADIAN OFFICERS ON STAFF

	Personnel Policy Branch		Program Branch		Management Improvement Branch		Other		Total	
	F.C.	Total	F.C.	Total	F.C.	Total	F.C.	Total	F.C.	Total
Branch Head	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	5	-	8
Division Head	2	3	-	5	-	4	-	-	2	12
Other Officers	5	29	1	26	3	12	-	5	9	72
Total	7	33	1	32	3	17	-	10	11	92

* This Chart is correct as of July 21, 1965. It includes officers on leave of absence, but not vacant positions.

Almost all documents come into the Secretariat written in English. On only very rare occasions, as for instance when a letter is received from a French-speaking member of Parliament, do documents come in in French. Some documents received in French are sent to the translation bureau to be translated into English when they are received: others might never be translated, but an English précis of them is prepared within the Secretariat.

Within the Treasury Board, virtually all written work is in English. On occasion, French-speaking officers write informal memos in French to one another, but when these memos are to be used by an English-speaking officer they are written in English.

Last year authorization was given to produce minutes or regulations that are to be made public or that affect employees in French as well as English. One French Canadian mentioned that he sometimes had to be reminded by staff associations to have regulations translated.

Translations are normally done by the Translation Bureau. The officers of the Secretariat usually check the work of the Bureau to make certain the technical nuances have been translated accurately.

Virtually all oral communication in the Secretariat is in English. French is used for informal communication between one French-speaking officer with another, or with the few bilingual English-speaking officers. French is not used at business meetings within the Secretariat.

Fluency with language, both written and oral, is important to the success of a Treasury Board officer. The language of work of the Treasury Board is English. A successful officer must be able to write and speak English well, but need not know French. French-speaking officers are judged on their fluency in English, not French, while English officers need learn no French. As a result, very few of the English-speaking officers speak French with any fluency, and even fewer are capable of using French precisely enough to work in it.

Technical Terminology and Translation

Because English is the working language of the Treasury Board Secretariat, French-speaking employees learn the English technical terminology for the concepts and problems of their work. They do not, in their work experience, learn the corresponding French terminology. As a result, several French-Canadian employees, who went to French universities, and whose language of the home is French, commented that they could not perform their work in French. They did not know the necessary technical terminology.

Some employees (both French and English) felt that the technical terminology did not exist in French which corresponded to the English technical terminology. One senior officer (English-speaking) said that he had noticed a difference in the level of technical terminology between French-speaking persons from Quebec and from France. People from France often had a more sophisticated vocabulary which compared with, and sometimes added to, the concepts available in English.

One curious aspect of Treasury Board terminology noticed during the investigation is that officers habitually call French-Canadian employees 'bilingual' rather than French-Canadian. 'Bilingual' is exclusively reserved for French Canadians: English-Canadians who speak French are 'English-officers who speak French'. 'Bilingual' appeared to be a euphemism for 'French Canadian'.

French-Canadians in the Secretariat

Recruitment and Promotion Policy

Everybody

Everybody interviewed said that the Secretariat was keenly interested in getting more French-Canadian staff; in fact several French-Canadians commented that being French-speaking probably favourably affected their recruitment. Further, provided he knew English a French-Canadian, it was generally agreed, could advance as quickly as if not more quickly than an English Canadian.

Common Career Experiences of French-Canadians

A typical French-Canadian from Quebec would have begun work at the Treasury Board soon after leaving university. He would not be able to speak English fluently, although he might have had contact with English Canadians during summers in the military reserve.

For his first six months or more in the Secretariat the French-Canadian would be intensely frustrated because of his difficulty with the English language. He would feel that he was not able to compete on fair terms with his English-speaking colleague. Frustration would not only be caused by language difficulties. A typical French-Canadian, with a classical college background, would find the pragmatic Treasury Board approach unfamiliar and in itself a source of frustration.

Other, more senior, French-Canadians in the Secretariat would help a French-Canadian recruit during this initial period of frustration. They would help him both with the English language and with understanding the Treasury Board approach to work. In spite of this help, a French-Canadian recruit might leave at this stage.

After a period of three years or so the French-Canadian would find himself able to express himself satisfactorily in English. He would then begin to face the problem of assimilation, of beginning to adopt the attitudes and

habits of his English-speaking colleagues. This would remain an important problem for many years.

If he was married to a French-speaking woman, the typical French-Canadian would face additional problems. Schools, shopping, and residence appropriate to his economic and educational standard might be difficult to find, and his wife might urge him to return to a French-speaking environment.

Throughout his early years of work, the French-Canadian would have found his English-speaking superiors sympathetic and helpful. He would, however, to some extent have a sense of unfairness in being asked to produce in a language not his own whereas his English-speaking colleagues were not. At present, he would likely be quite pessimistic about the possibility of being able to work in his native tongue in the public service within the foreseeable future.

Role as French-Canadians

The French-Canadians in the Secretariat were generally agreed that in recent years there had been an important change in the attitude in the public service towards French and French-Canadians. They now felt much more free to talk about the problems they faced, and got a more attentive reception. As a group, the French-Canadians interviewed tended to feel much more strongly about the question of bilingualism in the public service than did English-Canadians.

After the Glassco Commission had reported, a group of French-Canadians within the Secretariat on the suggestion of senior officers in the Secretariat, set up an informal committee of bilingual (both English and French) employees to study and propose solutions for the problems of bilingualism in the public service. This committee prepared a comprehensive report recommending vigorous action which was submitted to the inter-departmental committee on bilingualism after it was established. The informal committee then disbanded. Through this committee the French-Canadian employees were as a group for the first time able to express their interest and concern for the problem of bilingualism in the public service.

Effect of Increasing the Number of
French-Canadians in the Secretariat

There was general agreement that there should be more French-Canadians on staff, although at the same time they were pessimistic about their chances of success. In each interview, the question was asked of what would be the effect on the Secretariat of considerably increasing the number of French-Canadians on staff.

The answers to this question broke down into three distinct groups. Some said they thought it would produce no change in the processes and decisions of the Treasury Board. Of this group some held that in a larger sense

there are cultural differences between French and English Canadians but that these differences would not affect administrative behaviour. The second group felt that the Secretariat would be changed, and this would be because of cultural differences between French and English Canadians. The third group also felt the Treasury Board would be changed, but gave reasons other than cultural differences for the changes.

The answers differed significantly between French and English Canadians. More than half the English Canadians felt there would be no change, whereas only one French Canadian felt this.

Among French Canadians, those raised in Quebec were generally considerably more forceful than those from Ontario in expressing their opinion that the Secretariat would be greatly changed by the addition of a large number of French-Canadian officers. The difference, of which this is an illustration, between Franco-Ontarians and Quebecois was pointed out by several of the several of the officers interviewed, both French and English Canadian.

The cultural difference most often noted was that of the French Canadians as theoretic planners and the English Canadians as pragmatic "ad hoc'ers". The other difference frequently cited was that French Canadians had a style of working that was more personal than that of English Canadians.

The example was given that French Canadians prefer to go to a source of information by way of personal connection rather than by formal channels as would English Canadians. Another illustration was that French Canadians prefer a more personal relationship with their supervisor.

One reason suggested for a change in the Secretariat on the introduction of a large number of French Canadians that was not directly related to general cultural factors was that different intellectual resources are available in English and French. An increase in the number of French Canadians would significantly widen the range of intellectual resources available to the Secretariat and thereby improve it.

A second reason offered for change unrelated to cultural differences was that French and English Canadians have different interests and sets of priorities. Because the Secretariat and its officers are able within broad limits to select the problems they work on, the scales of priorities of the officers are important. An increase in French Canadians would, because of this, it was suggested, significantly increase the interest and concern of the Secretariat for bilingualism in the public service. If it had more French Canadians, the Treasury Board Secretariat might take a major role in encouraging the development of a bilingual public service.

ADJUSTMENTS TOWARDS BILINGUALISM WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT

Several French-Canadian officers noted that there had been 'absolutely no impact of the French way of looking at things here'. Several of them commented further that they now had a freedom to talk about bilingual and bicultural problems that they had never had before.

There was, however, no expectation expressed by any of the officers that the Secretariat, or any parts of it, except perhaps a portion of the section engaged in collective bargaining, would in the near future change to French as the general language of work or even become bilingual. In fact, many of the English Canadians commented that it would be practically impossible for the Secretariat, with its relationships to the English-speaking upper levels in the public service, and its need for precision in regulations and orders, to work in both languages. They felt that in the foreseeable future English would, and should, remain the language of business within the Secretariat. One officer stated that there has been no change in the use of French except that they say "bonjour" a little more in the corridors. He then amended this by adding that since Wolfe's monument was torn down, one did occasionally see documents in French. Most of the French Canadians felt very strongly that the present system was unfair, and that change to bilingualism was drastically and urgently needed. Several

French Canadians said they had suggested that French should be used more, perhaps in the Monday morning staff meetings, or that some projects should be worked on in French, but nothing had ever come of these suggestions. The committee that had been set up to look at bilingualism after Glassco was the first, and apparently only, staff committee to use French as its working language.

Recruitment and Retention of French Canadians

Everybody interviewed was eager to get more French Canadians on staff, but they were all equally pessimistic about their chances of success. The reasons for wanting French Canadians differed but generally boiled down to a feeling that 'there should be more French Canadians on staff'. The recent encouragement to Branch and Division heads to recruit their own staff had encouraged French Canadians to recruit more French-Canadians. But several of these French-speaking officers said it was hard to persuade French Canadians to come to Ottawa because they would still be promoted on their ability in the English language. French-Canadian employees thought this problem of language of work was the major obstacle to attracting French Canadians to Ottawa. Second to it came the problem of housing, schools, and a French environment for the family.

These problems were also the main obstacle to retaining French-Canadian employees. The difficulties with language expressed by French Canadians ranged from one employee who had gone to McGill but found it hard to write English up to the standards of his 'Oxford-educated' superiors, to a French-Canadian summer student who could not understand her English-speaking superiors, and an employee who had recently left because of the frustrations of working in English. The Government of Quebec had lured some French-speaking employees away from the Secretariat.

Language Training

Several of the officers of the Secretariat were attending the hour-per-day French courses during the summer of 1965. Jointly, the Department of Finance and the Treasury Board had worked out a set of criteria for selecting people for the course. The four main criteria were: usefulness of the language for the person's job; availability for the person; competence of the person; and the person's potential to reach positions where French would be useful. One member of the Secretariat, who was to go to the French school of public administration, was studying French full time.

The employees had not been selected for the French language courses with the intention of making any part of the Secretariat bilingual, or with the expectation that

the employees would subsequently use French frequently in their work in the Secretariat. The basis of selection appeared to be largely the interest shown by the employee, and many senior staff were taking the courses.

Translation of Treasury Board Regulations and Documents

The only official step taken towards bilingualism within the Secretariat, according to one employee, was the authorization given in 1964 to issue in both languages Treasury Board minutes and regulations that are to be made public or that affect employees. These minutes and regulations are normally produced in English within the Treasury Board. They are then sent to the Translation bureau to be put into French, and then they are closely gone over by officers of the Secretariat to ensure that the nuances of these carefully prepared regulations have been translated accurately. Even English-speaking officers on occasion pick up flaws in the translations.

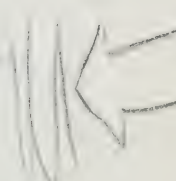
One change in the use of French has been in the financial estimates annually submitted to Parliament by the Minister of Finance. Previously they were submitted to Parliament in English and then translated, so that the French version came several weeks later, but now they are submitted simultaneously in both French and English. They are translated by the Translation bureau.

Collective Bargaining

With the advent of collective bargaining it is possible that the Secretariat will be faced with French-speaking employee representatives. For example, the nation-wide classifications of translators, or perhaps operating engineers, might have a majority of French-speaking members and might prefer to bargain in French. In the future, if regional or local groups are certified, some of these might be French-speaking. The Treasury Board, to accommodate these potential French-speaking bargaining agents, has begun to plan to develop, on its side, the staff and other resources to enable it to carry on negotiations in both French and English.

THE TREASURY BOARD POLICY ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Because of its central management position, the decisions and attitudes of the Treasury Board are and will be key factors in determining the way in which the public service copes with the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism, and it is probably impossible for the federal public service to become truly bilingual without the encouragement and active participation of the Treasury Board. Language training, assessment of manpower needs, and the career



development of top public servants are only a few of the programs directly relevant to bilingualism and with which the Board is closely concerned.

A detailed study of the policies and decisions of the Treasury Board in these areas of bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service was specifically excluded from the terms of reference of this project. However, during the inquiry many of these issues and problems inevitably were brought up and discussed with the officers of the Secretariat. In this section, some of these areas where Treasury Board decisions affect bilingualism in the public service are very briefly examined. The examination is in no way thorough or exact, and is only intended to block out the main dimensions of the problem. This section should be looked on as an outline of a proposed project for further examination of the Treasury Board policy on bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service. Even though some of the areas discussed in this section might be looked at from a different perspective in other studies, comprehensive examination of Treasury Board policies and decisions is a necessary and useful complement to this study.

The Treasury Board does not have a general policy towards bilingualism in the public service, and bilingual and bicultural considerations do not normally play an important

part in its day-to-day work. One senior officer of the Secretariat noted that very few of the questions - one or two in a hundred - which come before the Treasury Board have bilingual and bicultural implications, and in even fewer does the Treasury Board make decisions in the bilingual and bicultural areas. Problems do not as a rule come to the Board phrased in specifically bilingual and bicultural terms. Problems of the use of two languages within departments, or of departmental accommodation to different linguistic groups in the clientele, have normally been resolved within departments below the purview of the Treasury Board.

Some areas where the Treasury Board makes specific decisions which are relevant either to bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service or to government policy towards bilingualism and biculturalism generally are described below in the section "Treasury Board Decisions with Bilingual and Bicultural Implications".

Although the past practices of the Treasury Board and its Secretariat have not included the kind of activity necessary to develop a general policy on bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service, the Secretariat is devoting a major effort to making reforms which will improve its ability to take positive leadership in developing administrative and management policy for the public

service. (See Appendix "A") The criterion of bilingualism so far has not been considered directly relevant to the goals of efficiency and effectiveness towards which the Treasury Board has directed these efforts as 'general manager' of the public service, and the officers of the Secretariat do not, generally speaking, envisage the Board in the near future taking a larger hand in developing government policy towards bilingualism in the public service.

The study group concluded that the Treasury Board and its Secretariat are at present largely insulated from pressures towards making the public service bilingual. Bilingualism might be an important part of the Treasury Board's policies on management in the public service, but it is not. Some of the historical reasons for this insulation are described in Appendix "A"; three of the most important present reasons are:

- 1) The clientele of the Secretariat are predominantly English-speaking. Most of the communications of the Secretariat are with the upper levels of the civil service, which are almost exclusively English. Where there is a bilingual clientele, as there is for regulations affecting personnel and public, and for collective bargaining, the Secretariat is

prepared to use both languages. But the Secretariat does not feel great demands from its normal clientele towards making itself or the public service bilingual.

- 2) The Secretariat does not get demands for bilingualism from its ministerial leadership. It was noted above that the Glassco Commission recommended that ministerial direction over the Treasury Board be strengthened (See Appendix "A"). But the part-time and predominantly Anglo-Saxon ministerial leadership of the Secretariat has not demanded that it take a positive and active role in developing a bilingual public service. If a full-time President of the Treasury Board is appointed, as the Glassco Commission recommended, his interests and scale of priorities will have a substantial influence on the development of policies and practices in the Treasury Board and its Secretariat. This will be especially important to the public service as a whole because of the increasingly influential role envisaged for the Treasury Board as the general manager of the public service. The President of the Treasury Board will be a powerful force in the formulation of personnel, administrative, and financial policy for the whole public service.

The choice of ministers consequently will very strongly affect the interest and approach the

Treasury Board and its Secretariat takes to bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service. A minister who rates the priorities of bilingualism and biculturalism high, as a French-speaking Canadian might, could go a long way towards encouraging the Board to take an active role in developing a bilingual and bicultural public service. On the other hand, a minister with little interest in the problem might consider bilingualism unimportant and peripheral to the interests of the Board, and direct its attention and energies to other areas.

- 3) The French-Canadians within the Secretariat do not form a significant pressure group. The vast majority of the French Canadians within the Secretariat felt quite strongly that the Board should be more positively involved in developing a bilingual public service. The French-speaking staff committee which had prepared a report on bilingualism after Glassco was an expression of this feeling. But with only eleven French Canadians scattered throughout the Secretariat there is not a powerful French-Canadian pressure group. Several of the French Canadian officers interviewed commented that one of the most important effects of increasing the number of French Canadians in the Secretariat would be to build a strong interest in and demand for bilingualism into the Secretariat.

The Attitude of Treasury Board

Officers to Bilingualism

One of the confusions found during the study was on where the responsibility for developing policy on bilingualism in the public service was actually located at present, and this appeared to cause some uncertainty on the Treasury Board's role. Some officers suggested that the 'Inter-Departmental Committee on Bilingualism' was actively engaged in developing a general policy on bilingualism in the public service; others suggested the cabinet committee on bilingualism; and still others pointed to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. There was no clear government policy on bilingualism and biculturalism with which officers could agree or disagree.

There was a wide range of attitudes to the question of what the Treasury Board's role should be in developing a bilingual public service. Opinions fell into four main categories on this question, and were very closely correlated with the officer's attitude to bilingualism generally: the more an officer was sympathetic to the goal of bilingualism, the more likely he was to feel the Treasury Board should take an active role.

Officers Strongly Against an active Treasury Board Role

The responsibility of the Treasury Board is to apply management criteria and from this standpoint bilingualism does

not make sense and is not practical. There is no problem of use with customer service groups as the Board in no way deals with the public. At present, no consideration is made of bilingualism in the management work done by the Board. If in future it was cabinet policy to do this, the Board would have to adjust to cabinet directives although from management criteria this would not make good sense. (This view was expressed by a small minority of English-speaking officers.)

Officers Strongly in Favour of an active Treasury Board

Role Bilingualism is necessary in the public service if Canada is to survive. The Treasury Board should take the lead in encouraging bilingualism in the public service. Ideally everyone in the Treasury Board from the top down should speak, read, and write in both languages. This is because the Treasury Board is the 'nerve centre' of government. Because of the Treasury Board dealings with departments, Treasury Board bilingualism is necessary if the whole government is to become really bilingual. (This view was expressed mainly by French-speaking officers from Quebec, although it was shared by some English-speaking officers.)

Officers Moderately in Favour of an active Treasury Board

Role The role of the Treasury Board is to ask 'to what extent must we have bilingualism in the civil service to improve service'. The Treasury should propose policy where it is going to improve efficiency or personnel management. If bilingualism in the civil service is pushed farther than

this then it is not the Treasury Board's job. The Treasury Board could take a role in implementing a cabinet policy on bilingualism. In order to make the civil service more representative, a French Canadian should be able to speak and listen in his own language. (This view was held by many English-speaking Canadians and by some officers of French ancestry who had been raised or educated in an English language environment.)

Officers with Not Much Feeling Either Way Bilingual and bicultural problems do not arise in those terms. Generally they are incidental to other issues. In general, the Treasury Board has a role in the promotion of bilingualism only insofar as proposals are made in this matter that have financial implications and therefore require the approval of the Treasury Board. (This view was held by many English-speaking officers.)

Treasury Board decisions with Bilingual and Bicultural Implications

Language Training Programs

Questions on language training programs come to the Treasury Board as submissions from departments and the Civil Service Commission. Because it has no general policy on bilingualism, the Board deals with them on an ad hoc basis. They are considered by the Personnel Policy Branch of the Secretariat,

where they have generally been referred to French-Canadian officers for analysis. The French-Canadian officers who have had an important role in considering language training proposals expressed scepticism and doubt about the present programs. One reason for this was that they felt there was no general plan for bilingualism in the public service and that as a result the present unorganized attempts were likely to fail and produce frustration and a hostile reaction in the English-speaking public service. The second reason was that they felt the true way to achieve a bilingual and bicultural public service was to recruit and promote more French Canadians; emphasis on French language training might lead away from this goal. But these French-speaking officers felt that the Treasury Board should take an active role in encouraging the development of a bilingual and bicultural public service within the framework of a general government policy.

Several public servants outside the Secretariat commented that they felt the Treasury Board might be trying to apply the usual criteria of training programs to what were experimental pilot projects in an urgent area. Some officers within the Secretariat commented that language training was one of the areas in which the Secretariat was taking an active interest. But the study group did not examine the question of language training in any detail, and more work needs to be done before the Treasury Board policy can be accurately assessed.

Increasing Establishments to enable people to take language courses

The question of Treasury Board policy on increasing establishments to enable people to take language training courses was not examined in detail by the study group. The consensus of the officers that were asked about it was that the government did not have a policy and that because of the difficulty of getting efficient replacements at higher levels the idea was impractical. A study of specific case histories is needed before the past practices and future possibilities in this area can be accurately assessed.

Manpower Planning

The group that has been preparing the manpower inventory has (it is understood) not used language ability or cultural group as a basis for its inventory, nor has it data on language use within the public service. It appears that it would not be possible, from the data currently being gathered, to determine how far the public service is along the road to bilingualism and biculturalism. As it is now envisaged, the manpower inventory could not be used to monitor a program towards bilingualism in the public service. It could not be used to determine either the need for recruitment on linguistic lines, or the need for language training programs.

Translation Facilities within Departments

It was understood that there has been discussion of the possibility of decentralizing at least some kinds of translation facilities to departments. Again, study of specific cases need to be studied before past policy and future possibilities can be accurately assessed.

Bilingual Forms and Publications

The Management Improvement Division has an interest in forms and publications, but it does not give detailed direction on the use of two languages and generally leaves the decision up to the departments. Bilingual publications have increased, according to the officers interviewed.

Cultural Programs

According to several of the officers interviewed, the government has been increasingly sympathetic to programs which encourage French cultural expression, such as visits in the performing arts to, from, and within Canada, and support for Expo. The study group did not look at any of these programs in detail.

Coast Guard Training School

This problem was not looked at in detail, but it appeared to be a question where bilingual considerations which were significant for the success of the projects might not

have been given as high a priority as they deserved - but not necessarily by the Treasury Board.

The people responsible for the Coast Guard are English-speaking; on the other hand, the bulk of the potential coast guard recruits are French-speaking (the most important part of the Coast Guard fleet - icebreakers on the St. Lawrence - are totally manned by French-speaking people). When the possibility of establishing a school for training Coast Guard employees was raised it was received favourably, but there were problems in where to place it and whether to use provincial government facilities in Quebec or old navy facilities such as Venture at Esquimault or Point Edward Naval Base in Nova Scotia.

The Coast Guard training school was established in Nova Scotia. It had two problems: 1) French-speaking students did not want to stay because of the English location; 2) French-speaking instructors did not want to stay for the same reason. It is understood that some use of provincial technical training facilities at Rimouski is being made at present.

This could be a possible case study in bilingual and bicultural administration and the decision making processes of government. It would have to be cleared with the senior Treasury Board staff if not the Board itself because the question is (1965) still under consideration.

Administrative Training Centre

It was understood that some discussion has gone on about the possibility of establishing an administrative training centre for the government whose activities would in part be directed to problems of bilingualism and biculturalism.

PART IIIBILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICEFindings of this Study

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism instruct it first "to report" upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration", and secondly "to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration". This study of the Federal Treasury Board supports the conclusion of the Glassco Commission on efficiency in government: perhaps in some of the district offices in Quebec and other French-speaking communities the normal language of work is French, but at the upper levels of the public service where the Treasury Board is located the English or French administrator who uses French to any significant extent in his day-to-day work is so uncommon as to be almost unknown. There is virtually no practice of bilingualism at the upper levels of the public service. The upper levels are for all practical purposes unilingually English in their work.

This section is directed towards the second part of the terms of reference, and is a tentative effort to analyze

some of the advantages and disadvantages of the various kinds of bilingual administrative models which might be adopted as goals for the federal public service.

Models of Bilingual Administrations

Change is required to have a federal public service with a bilingual character. There are many possible models to which change might be directed: bilingualism could imply that every public servant must have a working knowledge of both English and French; bilingualism could imply two parallel administrative structures separated from top to bottom, one speaking only English, one speaking only French, and each servicing their respective clienteles; or it could imply that in selected posts a knowledge of both languages is essential, while in others knowledge of one is enough.

The kind of bilingual model selected as the goal for the federal public service depends in part upon how the term 'bicultural' is construed. Its relevance to the public service is probably that noted by one of the French-Canadian Treasury Board officers: it is not sufficient to have English public servants who can speak French; there must be a representative number of French-Canadians in the public service to get the French-Canadian point of view across. But this argument can be extended to the 'other ethnic groups' as well as French and English Canada, and on a finer division still, to the various groupings within the French English and 'other' sectors.

Carried to its logical conclusion, this idea of a 'representative' public service can lead to extreme positions. The goal of representativeness can be used to justify actions - such as a quota system - which can seriously impair the effectiveness of the organization, or do irreparable harm to the principle of recruitment and promotion on 'merit'.

But there are two good arguments used to justify attaching a value to the principle of 'representativeness' in the public service. The first is that the public service has a positive and important influence in proposing, formulating and interpreting policies and rules which affect all sections of the public. In order to produce decisions which are sensitive and responsive to the varied needs and characteristics of the public, the public service should be reasonably representative of the most important varieties of the public it serves. Secondly, in a democracy it is desirable that no groups of the public should be systematically discriminated against in selection and promotion in the public service.

One of the purposes of having bilingualism in the public service is to enable the public service to achieve a suitable representative character within the framework set by the standards of good management and personnel administration. The other is surely to make the use of two languages part of the fabric of our national life and to bring together the different parts of Canada in the main instrument of achieving national unity in Canada.

It must be recognized that the public service has more purposes than simply being bilingual. It has specific functions to perform, some of which have virtually no relationship to the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. The public service is expected to do its tasks with the most efficient use of human, physical, and financial resources: its costs are expected to be as low as possible. Further, the public service is expected to be consistent in its administration. Consistency has two aspects: first that across the nation clientele and public servants should be treated equally regardless of who, what, or where they are; and secondly that when decisions are made between competing needs - whether within a program or between programs - the various needs are treated on the same basis, and one area or program does not get over - or under - emphasis in the perspective of the total functions of government. These goals of efficiency and consistency can conflict with other goals, such as representativeness and bilingualism.

These three standards: the way they contribute to encouraging representativeness in the public service; the way they facilitate efficiency; and the way they encourage consistency of decision making; are the criteria by which various alternative bilingual administrative models are evaluated on Chart II.

The starting point for this exercise in model-building is the proposition that the clientele of public service agencies should be given service in their own language. In a given area, the clientele will tend to speak only one of the two languages, although there will certainly be some regions where both languages are spoken and some of the public who can speak both.

The public servants dealing with the clientele will need to speak one or the other of the two languages, although some will need to speak both.

Administrative groups which unilingually use one or the other language as the normal language of work might be found at any level within the organization, although it appears reasonable to suggest that generally they will be found to extend upwards within the organization structure from the language groups in the clientele base. The distance unilingual groups extend upwards depends on the particular kind of bilingualism which exists.

It is possible that to belong to some work groups a public servant will need to know both languages. He might not need to be equally fluent in both languages, but might, at a minimum, need to be able to understand spoken and written communications in both languages.

For the purposes of model building, the two languages will be called "A" and "B".

Administrative groups will be depicted:

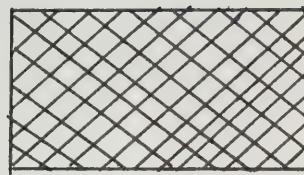
- 1) where an employee must
know "A" to work



- 2) where an employee must
know "B" to work



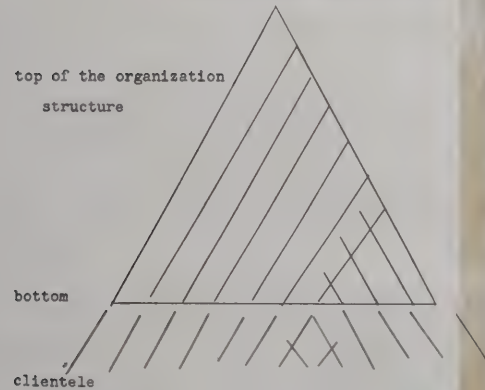
- 3) where an employee must know both "A" and "B" to work.



Some of the possible alternative models of language use are shown on Chart II.

From the point of view of economy and strict dollar costs, the present model (A) of a predominantly unilingual administration is probably the most attractive choice. If representativeness is used as the sole criteria, the model (C) of separate unilingual sectors offers the most advantages. From the criterion of consistency alone, the completely bilingual model (B) appears the best. Model (D), with unilingual sectors and biculturalism as the upper levels, offers a mixture of the advantages of the others with relatively smaller disadvantages in any single criterion.

A model something approaching one of these will probably be chosen by the Royal Commission as the goal for the federal public service. The exercise of model-building has been included here because it forms a background for understanding what was discovered in the examination of the Treasury Board, and for evaluating proposals to change towards a bilingual administrative structure in the public service generally. It also clearly points out an important conclusion that must be borne in mind in a study of bilingualism in the public service: to create a truly bilingual public service drastic changes will be needed, and these changes will fundamentally change many of the processes of administration in the public service.

A - Present Federal Public Service

Advantages

Disadvantages

representativeness

representativeness

imposes a language barrier on potential recruits to upper levels from the subordinate language group. Not representative of language use in country

efficiency

efficiency

because only one language used, reduced costs of administration at upper levels

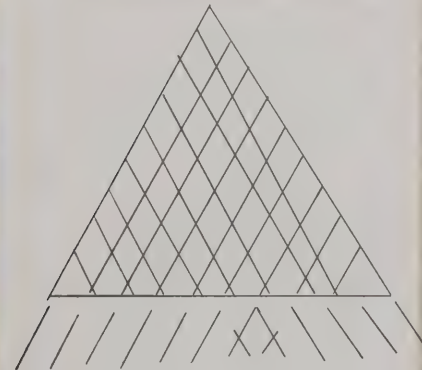
by handicapping careers of public servants in subordinate group, leads to inefficient use of human resources

consistency

consistency

enables consistency to be achieved at upper levels

no guarantee that needs and problems of subordinate group are translated through language barrier - possibility of unequal treatment

B - Completely Bilingual Structure

Advantages

Disadvantages

representativeness

gives all public servants an equal opportunity for advancement to upper levels

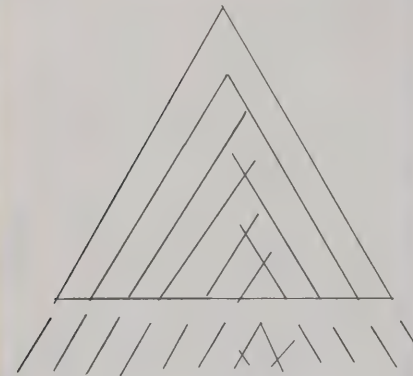
restricts admission to public service only to those who are bilingual

efficiency

inefficient to the extent that it requires many public servants to know a language they will not use in their dealings with the public

consistency

permits consistency to be achieved at all levels

C - Separated Unilingual Sectors

Advantages

Disadvantages

representativeness

achieves proportional representation of the two language groups at all levels

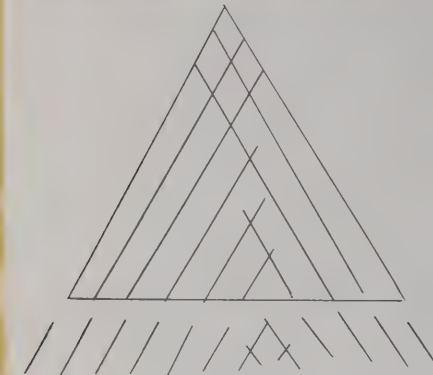
efficiency

eliminates the problems caused by using two languages in one work group

consistency

eliminates the efficiencies caused by large-scale organizations

makes consistency difficult to achieve at all levels between the two sectors. Conflicts must be resolved outside the structure

D - Unilingual Sectors with Bilingualism at Upper Levels

Advantages

Disadvantages

representativeness

provides equal career mobility to each group

restricts upper levels to bilingual public servants

efficiency

reduces cost of bilingualism because only upper levels need know and use both languages

adds cost of having administration at upper levels carried on in two languages

consistency

enables conflicts to be resolved within structure

risk of inconsistency at lower levels

A general characteristic of all the models should be noted: the area where the two languages meet is different in composition from the unilingual areas. To some extent this in-between area is a discontinuity. It is the area where one or more levels of administrators is faced with the problem of translating an administrative pattern or problem from one language to another. This problem of communicating back and forth between the two languages was one of the problems of bilingual administration most frequently noted by officers of the Secretariat. The problems of technical terminology and translation - of even French-speaking officers feeling the words did not exist in French, or of them not having the French vocabulary - are one manifestation of this problem. Another is the frequently referred to cultural differences between French and English: the same message could have different meanings on either side of the discontinuity. The French-Canadian feeling that their 'way of thinking' had no impact on the Secretariat is another aspect of this discontinuity.

The way this discontinuity has been depicted in the models is as a boundary - or a bilingual space - between the two language areas. It is an "interface" between the two languages, through which all communications must pass. Its thickness - the number of levels of bilingual people - can be great or small - and its permeability - the accuracy and amount of translation - can be great or little. This interface is a characteristic of a bilingual administrative structure. It is inevitable that there will be distortions and difficulties in

crossing it: some communications will not get through; some will have to be adapted rather than translated; and some will take on entirely new implications in the new linguistic environment. The key problems of a bilingual administrative structure are first to ensure appropriate use of the two languages, and secondly to ensure that the interface between them is as broad and permeable as possible.

An Evaluation of the Alternatives for Canada

A. Present Federal Administrative Structure

Because the upper levels of the federal public service are virtually completely English-speaking, a French Canadian, to make a success of his career in the Treasury Board or other parts of the upper levels must be able to speak, and must be prepared to work, in a language not his own. No such demand is made of an English-speaking Canadian. The experience of French-speaking Canadians who have risen to responsible posts in the Treasury Board Secretariat testifies to how difficult the process of learning to work in a strange language is. If there are alternative and equally attractive careers available where he can work in his mother tongue - as for instance in the Quebec provincial public service - a French-speaking Canadian is not likely to be strongly attracted to the federal public service. Once in the service, the frustration engendered by linguistic and cultural difference can induce him to leave, or seriously

impair his effectiveness. As a result, as long as the working language of the upper levels of the public service is exclusively English, the upper levels are not likely to become fairly representative of the two language groups in Canada.

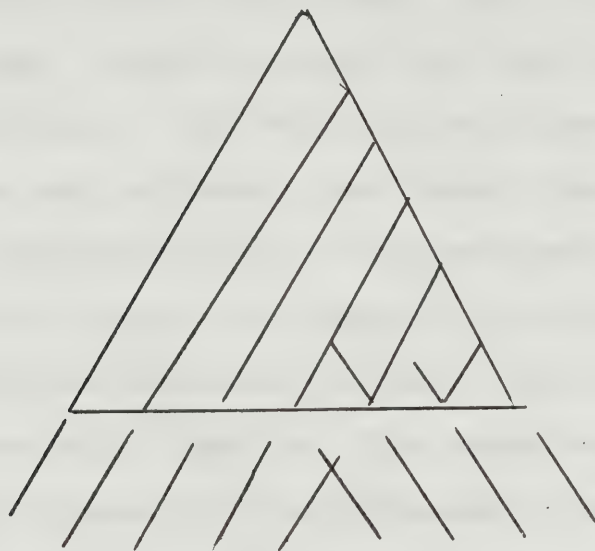
It might be proposed that by offering a bonus to bilingual public servants more French-Canadians would be attracted to the public service. But this proposal ignores the fact that money is not the sole incentive to work for the federal government. A strictly financial incentive would probably not attract significantly more French-Canadians, and as a bonus for bilingualism where the language qualification is not necessary for the work, goes against a fundamental principle of federal salary administration: equal pay for equal work. In passing, it should be noted that many of the people interviewed felt that at present there was an informal bonus for French Canadians in the public service, and that as long as they were competent to do the work in English, they could probably advance more rapidly than English Canadians.

It can be concluded that as long as the upper levels of the public service remain exclusively English-speaking, French Canadians as a group are unlikely to achieve a representation in proportion to their population.

The problems of the interface is not obvious in the present structure first because the French language areas exist mainly at a low level, and secondly because the centralization of translation facilities reduces the amount of direct contact with

the other language.

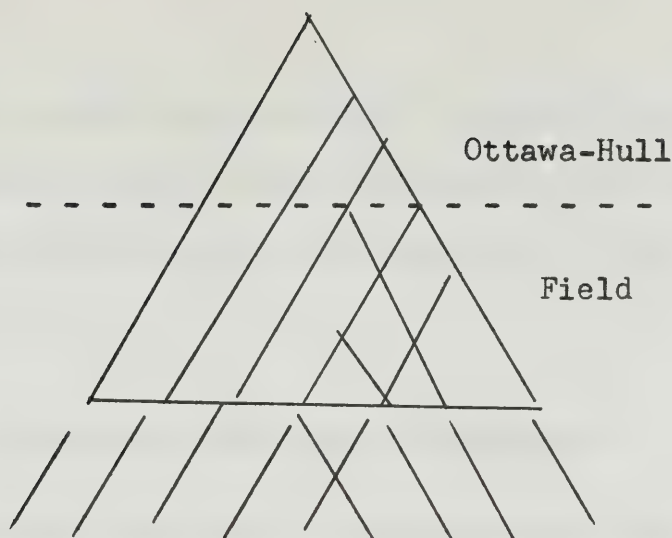
One way the interface might move in a structure like the present federal one is down to - or even below - the bottom of the administrative structure. The language use could look like this:



with only the public - or the public servants directly in contact with them - bilingual. Something like this has happened to the Welsh language in Wales, where it is still the mother tongue of over half a million people. Welsh is used in the home and in the community, and is used to a limited extent in schools and local administration. But virtually everyone who speaks Welsh also speaks English, and the language of most of the civil service - even in Wales - is English. There are no unilingual Welsh communities. In Canada, even if the federal public service did become totally English-speaking, there would still be a French language bastion in Quebec. The interface would exist between the provincial and federal administrations, as perhaps one does already.

B. A Completely Bilingual Structure

When bilingualism in the public service is discussed it is useful to remember some of the characteristics of the Canadian public service. In 1960 (these figures are from the Glassco Commission Report) there were 188,336 employees of the federal government (excluding armed services and the commercial corporations). The total for the Ottawa-Hull area was 44,619, and for the rest of Canada over three times as much, 141,328. The total for Ottawa-Hull and the provinces of Quebec and New-Brunswick - those most likely to be faced with clientele or administrators speaking French - was 82,430, or still about half the public service. The proportion of public servants outside Ottawa-Hull has increased in recent years, and a great many of these public servants in the field will remain there for their whole working lives. In some departments, such as National Defence or the Post Office, it would be the exception rather than the rule for civilian employees to move from their home locality. Consequently, a large number of public servants live hundreds of miles from the nearest community of the other language, and are not likely to need the other language during their working lives. A simplified depiction of the present federal public service is therefore something like this:



Two arguments can be offered against a goal of general bilingualism in the Canadian public service. First, it would demand of a great many civil servants something that would be of no use to them in their job: probably the bulk of the public service lives and works exclusively in one language or the other at present. It would therefore be inefficient. Secondly, it would not lead to a representative public service: recruitment would be restricted to the twelve per cent of Canadians who speak both languages and unilingual French-speaking, and English-speaking would be excluded. For both these reasons, general bilingualism would, under present conditions, make the federal public service grossly inefficient.

If the general goal is to make everybody in Canada bilingual, then it is logical that the public service should become bilingual as part of a national program. But otherwise, a requirement of general bilingualism would not improve the civil service. It might also be questioned whether this goal would appeal to French or English: surely the purpose of having two languages is to allow a large part of each group to speak its

own language exclusively. Universal bilingualism would probably lead to the extinction of the minority language. The solution to the problem of the interface is not to eliminate it.

C. Separated Unilingual Structures

Separated unilingual administrations implies two parallel public services, one speaking English and one French, divided from top to bottom. Perhaps, speaking precisely, this kind of organization should not be called one bilingual public service but two unilingual ones. In its extreme, this model could be adopted by keeping the present English-speaking structure, and creating a French-speaking duplicate along-side. Two Treasury Boards, two Civil Service Commissions, two Departments of Agriculture, and so on. This kind of division was tried in the pre-confederation colony of the United Canadas, where it did not work. It put too much of a burden of coordination on the upper levels. The interface was even longer and more difficult to cross than it is at present.

As a modification of this kind of structure, some departments and agencies could be designated as basically French-speaking, and the remainder as English-speaking. This would certainly be possible for some of the agencies at the periphery of central administration - for example, the Film Board, and Canada Council might be designated as French-speaking, the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration as English-speaking. Each would need to be bilingual to the

extent demanded by clientele, but could generally provide a unilingual work environment.

This could not work for the central administration where the flow of communication between agencies like the Civil Service Commission, the Treasury Board, the Privy Council Office, and the Department of Finance is so great that the task of crossing a linguistic interface between them would be unsurmountable. In all probability the upper levels, where the problem of representativeness is most acute, would continue to use English as their working language, and French-Canadians would still be at a disadvantage. Perhaps an even greater defect of this system is that it would destroy the principle of interchangeability of senior staff on which so much administrative reform is based. Consistency, career development, and decentralization of responsibility are a few of the goals of interchangeability.

Making French the basic language of administration in some departments or agencies could be a stepping stone to a more general kind of bilingualism. It could be used to produce a French-speaking clientele for the upper levels of the public service like the Treasury Board. It could also enhance the career-opportunities for French-speaking public servants.

D. Unilingual Sectors with Bilingualism at Upper Levels

Unilingual sectors with bilingualism at the upper levels implies

that the two languages could be used interchangeably at the upper levels. This implies general bilingual ability among senior public servants. At a minimum, officers of agencies like the Treasury Board would have to be able to read and understand the spoken word in both languages; ideally they should be able to speak, listen, write and read in both French and English. This model copes with the problem of the interface by making it as broad and permeable as possible, while still retaining significant predominantly unilingual sectors.

On the grounds of efficiency it can be argued that to develop a bilingual upper public service will cost an unreasonable amount of money, time and effort, and confusion. In strictly financial terms there will be the cost of training public servants now holding senior positions, and the additional cost of training potential senior public servants, before or after they enter the public service. Senior public servants are a scarce resource, and to make them all effectively bilingual might require a quarter or more of their time over a period of several years. This might be more of a diversion from the attention paid to the essential tasks of the senior public service - proposing and implementing vital national policies - than the country would be willing to tolerate. Thirdly, using two languages might create confusions and delays because of misinterpretations and uncertainty on precise meanings. Translation is not an exact science, and most documents and concepts will at some point have to be translated from one

language to another. This confusion might place an intolerable burden on an already overworked senior public service. No attempt will be made here to measure these costs. At this stage it is enough to point out that they exist.

If a public servant needs to know both languages to be a senior, or a potential senior, public servant, the supply of potential recruits will be reduced drastically from what it is now. 88 per cent or more of all Canadians would under present circumstances be excluded because they know only one language, This compares with the approximately 20 per cent now excluded because they cannot speak English. The public service, as the evidence of the Treasury Board Secretariat indicates, already has a difficult time recruiting qualified personnel for its management positions. The job would be infinitely more difficult if only bilingual applicants were eligible. This, however, is not so serious a defect as the fact that the resulting public service would fail to achieve representativeness, the goal of making it bilingual. Most potential senior public servants from any part of Canada - French or English - would be at a serious disadvantage because they would not know both languages. The learning of a second language is not easy. The few groups trained in both languages since childhood, such as Franco-Ontarians, would have a better chance to rise in the public service than any other group. The resulting public service would not be representative of the various ethnic and geographic groups in Canada.

There are strong arguments against making the upper levels of the public service bilingual under present circumstances of

language ability and training in Canada. It is not unreasonable to suggest that two prior conditions should be achieved before the country and the public service would likely be willing to sustain the costs involved, and before any otherwise qualified Canadian, from the West, Ontario, Quebec or the maritimes can view the public service equally as a potential career:

- 1) There must be national recognition that bilingualism and French-Canada are an essential part of the Canadian nation, and that bilingualism in public affairs is a national goal;
- 2) More and better language training must be available to all Canadians - whether in the public service or outside, whether in school or not - who are potential senior public servants.

THE ROAD TO BILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Bilingualism in the public service must be part of a general program towards bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. Without this sort of an accepted national program, it probably, by the standards of efficiency and representativeness, makes more sense to let things continue as they are, or to let English and French Canada continue on the path to administration as two separate largely unilingual systems, with all the attendant costs of dividing Canada.

Before the federal public service can begin a concentrated general drive towards a more advanced form of bilingualism, it needs a program depicting goals, means of achieving goals, and timetable. This is one of things conspicuously lacking at present. The other thing that appears to be lacking is strong support at the political level for a drive towards bilingualism. The study group found that several statements had been made by cabinet ministers on the "policy" of the government on bilingualism, but these had not been translated into directives or demands for the Treasury Board.

Regardless of who develops and proposes a program for making the public service bilingual - the Royal Commission, the inter-departmental committee, or the Civil Service Commission or Treasury Board - the drive and support for the program must come from the political level. One of the questions that needs answering is why the demands from Parliament or cabinet have not been greater.

Programs towards Bilingualism

There are three stages at which potential senior public servants can be made bilingual: 1) before they join the public service; 2) on joining the public service and 3) after joining the public service. Each of these is examined below.

Before joining the Public Service One interesting discovery of this study group was that the text books used in politics and public administration are quite different for

French and English Canada. Basic books for English-speaking students - Corry's Democratic Government and Politics, Dawson's Government of Canada, and Hodgett's and Corbett's Canadian Public Administration, were not available to French-speaking students, except in English. Correspondingly, the text books used by French students were not available, except in French, to English students. This is possibly one of the sources of the "cultural differences" noted in this study. If the government of Canada is seriously concerned about the supply of French-speaking recruits to the public service, it could do few more useful things than to ensure that French and English Canadians both get an equivalent opportunity to learn about the Canadian political system. Translation of and publication of basic texts, reference books, and articles should get a high and immediate priority.

Several of the French-Canadian public servants interviewed noted that they got their first exposure to English Canada in the armed services, either during the war or, for the younger ones, in the military reserve units like the COTC and UNTD which gave summer jobs to university students and mixed French and English Canadians together for twenty-four hours per day for four months of the year. Both English and French Canadians remarked on how valuable the exposure produced by the summer reserves was. An expanded reserve program, or its civilian counterpart, could be used to develop bilingualism and greater sensitivity to Canadians with different backgrounds.

Something better than this military training might be sponsored by the public service. A "summer internship program" might combine language training, meeting other kinds of Canadians, and work. Summer jobs in agencies like national parks, the railway hotels, and agricultural research establishments could be used to bring different kinds of university students together and make them bilingual.

On Joining University students recruited into the public service undergo a sort of basic training. There is no reason why language training and use could not become part of this.

After Joining More and better language training is an obvious requirement here. One thing that does not appear to have been considered yet is to combine language training with the rotation program for senior civil servants. If, in the preliminary stages of a program towards bilingualism, some agencies were designated basically French-speaking, as was suggested above, a full-time course in French in between one job and the next could be used to prepare English Canadians for the new environment (and vice versa). It would only take a few years to produce a large reservoir of bilingual Canadians who had worked in both languages. The continued working of the rotation scheme would enable other agencies - such as the Treasury Board Secretariat - to become bilingual.

The steps needed for this are: 1) to designate agencies as French-speaking; 2) to make them French-speaking through

staff transfers and recruitment; 3) to transfer staff in and out with a language training interval where necessary.

Role of the Treasury Board

The Treasury Board, through its financial, administrative and personnel controls, has a key relationship to the development of bilingualism in the public service, and the Secretariat is in the process of making administrative reforms which will, for the first time, give it a strong, positive role in improving personnel and program administration. So far, the Secretariat has not included bilingualism as one of the goals in its program of reforms nor has there been great pressure put on it to do so.

But it is not realistic to expect the public service to become bilingual without the stimulus and support of the Treasury Board and its Secretariat. No other agency has comparable authority and responsibility in the field of management. If the political decision is taken to make the public service bilingual, the Treasury Board should be given the task of monitoring the program, although another agency - such as the Civil Service Commission or a Committee of Parliament (some sort of permanent Royal Commission) - could be given the task of reporting on and reviewing programs.

For the Treasury Board to give the necessary leadership, its Secretariat should develop the ability to perform all its work in both languages, ensure its officers are bilingual, and become more representative of the Canadians most concerned with the problem of bilingualism - those from French Canada.

Appendix "A"THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREASURY BOARD

Many special and uniquely Canadian factors have affected the Canadian Treasury Board and made it different from its British or American counterparts. The origin of many of its present attitudes and functions towards bilingualism in the public service can be traced to factors that were at work before confederation. Professor Hodgetts has noted that:

...It is important to remind ourselves that, during the pre-confederation period of legislative union between what are now the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, the political and administrative concessions made to the concept of equal partnership of the two races went well beyond anything provided, for example, by the United States to keep South and North in a more perfect union. Here was a system topped by a hyphenated premiership, often organized in double-barrelled ministries, staffed in dual divisions and, to cap it all, a system of rotating capitals. All this came to an abrupt end in 1867 and Quebec, like the American South, found itself outvoted politically and forced to accept as a nucleus for the new central civil service, a staff drawn largely from the Province of Ontario, housed in a new, permanent capital in an alien backwoods Ontario town of Ottawa and rapidly conditioned to conducting all official business in English. The wonder is that it has taken the better part of a century for the aggravations implicit in this uneven partnership to erupt.....

Thus, even before confederation the pressure towards making the public service predominantly English-speaking were at work, and the Treasury Board consequently began its life and has grown up in an English-speaking environment. It

needs only be added that the double-barrelled ministries of the pre-confederation were an administrative nightmare, even in those early days when most of the public servants were decentralized and located in field offices.

For many years after confederation there was very little effective central control over the departments and agencies of government either by cabinet or by Parliament. Norman Ward, looking at control of public expenditure before the first world war, found that "in many years control could be said to have existed in only a formal sense: a responsible executive asked for funds, and Parliament approved the granting of them. But neither the administrative nor the parliamentary machinery was adequate to ensure that either the responsibility or the granting had a precise meaning." Because the system of control was weak, departments frequently overspent their budgets, made unauthorized commitments, engaged in activities which were not authorized by Parliament, and wasted funds in many ways. The amount of money spent by the government was relatively small, the difficulties in raising funds were minor, and the demands for expenditures for partisan and local benefits overwhelmed demands for efficiency and propriety in financial administration. The Treasury Board did not play an important part in financial administration.

In the years before the first world war, patronage was an important means of recruitment to the public service. The bulk of the service, which was stationed outside of Ottawa, was appointed on the recommendation of the local organization or member of the government party. Central control over most aspects of personnel administration - establishments, classification, pay, appointment and promotion - whether by the Treasury Board or any other body, was as weak as was central control over financial administration.

The Treasury Board, in this early period, was weak, unimportant, and ineffective.

The first change in this system of weak central control over departments came in 1918 with the passage of a new act of Parliament governing the public service. For a personnel administration based on patronage and departmental autonomy it substituted a system based on the 'merit principle' and closely administered by a central Civil Service Commission. Much of the control over personnel administration was taken away from the executive by the Civil Service Act of 1910. It was given to the Civil Service Commission, a central agency independent of the executive and responsible solely and directly to Parliament.

The Civil Service Commission was given the general responsibilities for recruitment, promotion, and classification in the public service, the responsibility for recommending rates of pay, and an important role in determining departmental establishments and organization. A very detailed and complex classification system - which at one time had more than 3,000 different classes of employees - was made the basis of the new merit system administered by the Civil Service Commission.

The new system succeeded in replacing the old patronage system with a more objective one. But it went almost unnoticed that at the same time the major authority over personnel administration had been taken away from the executive and given to an independent agency. The Treasury Board had most of its authority over personnel administration taken away, unlike its counterpart, the British Treasury, which had been given general authority over personnel administration when the change was made from a patronage to a merit system in Britain. The ability of the Treasury Board to influence personnel administration policy was greatly restricted by the creation of the Civil Service Commission.

In its main outlines, the system of personnel administration established in 1918 has lasted up to the present. The Civil Service Commission, composed of three commissioners

one of whom is French-Canadian, has the major role in establishing and enforcing personnel administration policy. It sets the patterns of recruitment, training, and promotion in the public service. While the Treasury Board must approve changes in personnel policy which have financial implications, it has not, under this system, been an initiator of personnel policy. The responsibility for initiation has been in the Civil Service Commission. Under this system it was not to be expected that the Treasury Board, of its own initiative, would develop and enforce a comprehensive policy towards bilingualism and biculturalism in personnel administration.

The next major influence on the development of the functions of the Treasury Board came during the depression when the government found that with the then-existing loose financial controls over departments and agencies it was unable to keep track of its financial position. According to the Royal Commission on government organization "votes were over-expended, expenditures were charged to the wrong vote; liabilities were incurred which committed in advance almost the entire amount of votes appropriated by Parliament in the succeeding year; expenditures were made out of revenues; and other questionable practices were often in evidence." (Glassco Report I, 128.) For example, it was found "that the government was three years in debt to its furniture suppliers". (ibid, p.43) In the depression period of falling revenues and rising demands for services the problems produced by this lack of system became intolerable and as a result in

1931 a Finance Administration Act was passed which drastically increased central control over departmental finances.

Two results of these changes in finance administration are important for this study. The first is that the Treasury Board was made more important. Under the new system, many items such as construction and procurement contracts, and many types of personnel expenses required the approval of Treasury Board before payment. Treasury Board regulations governed many other types of payment.

The demands of this new system made it necessary for the Treasury Board to meet regularly and for it to get staff to process departmental submissions. The volume of work very quickly became quite large - the Glassco Commission found that the Treasury Board considered about 16,000 submissions each year. Consequently, although the changes of 1931 made the Treasury Board more important, they also immersed the Board and its Secretariat in a flood of detailed decisions which demanded a large proportion of their time. The Treasury Board had little time left for developing general administrative policies. The changes tended to make the Treasury Board dollar oriented rather than policy oriented.

The second result of the changes of 1931 was that much of the responsibility for management was taken away from departments and given to central agencies. The Treasury Board had the power, and in many cases the statutory requirement to examine and regulate in detail many kinds of management activity. The regulations and controls of the Treasury

Board covered in detail a wide range of financial, personnel, and general administrative matters. A system of rigid, detailed controls over departments was established.

The establishment of the Civil Service Commission took away much of the potential management authority from the Treasury Board; the financial administration changes of 1931 directed much of its time and interest towards the details of financial administration. The purpose of its close central control over departments and agencies was economy, in a narrow sense of the term, and financial probity in administration. Whether or not the development of such a policy was within its powers, the practice of the Treasury Board did not include the kind of activity required to plan and develop a comprehensive, positive policy towards bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service.

The Treasury Board, as a committee of ministers, could not, under these arrangements, be looked to for strong leadership in developing or enforcing a policy on bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service. Even if individual members of the Board had a real interest in the problem, the Board has not functioned in a way which would permit them to translate this interest into Treasury Board policy. At the same time the Treasury Board Secretariat, which by default had to take the initiative in developing policy, because it

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was not a ministerial body, was not the appropriate place for the needed major policy decisions to be made.

The main outlines of the present system of central control had been established before the second world war. While the system ensured correctness through close and detailed central controls, it did not encourage the imaginative development of administrative policy in the public service. Many factors contributed to making change desirable. Although the public service has grown enormously since the system was established, it was not until after the second world war when the period of emergency was over that the stresses and strains of the cumbersome administrative structure became apparent. In part the structure was unsatisfactory because the tasks demanded of the public service had changed and increased in variety and complexity, and the public service had not responded quickly enough to the changes. Changes in information handling and administrative technology, and changes in the environment through the increasing maturity of provincial civil services and the growing complexity of intergovernmental relationships placed further pressures on the system of close central control.

Criticisms of the system found a focal point in the 1962 report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (The Glassco Commission). The Commission's reports have created a climate of change in which many important reforms

have been begun and are now in various stages of completion. Since these reforms are now under way, and will create the environment in which possible policies on bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service will have to flourish, it is necessary to look closely at the most important of them.

The general direction in which they headed was set by the Glassco Commission's terms of reference, which directed it to recommend changes which "would best promote efficiency, economy, and improved service in the despatch of public business". The Commission directed a major part of its inquiry towards improvements of service to the public rather than towards the achievement of strict dollar savings. The Commission stated that the product of its study was a concept of management in the public service which was "intended to provide simple and practical guidelines for those with continuing responsibility for the effectiveness of the public service, who must meet new situations which cannot now be foreseen, and deal with existing problems for which this Commission, for want of time or essential data, does not suggest solutions." (I, 25). It is within these guidelines that bilingualism and biculturalism must now find room to grow within the public service.

Bilingualism and biculturalism did not play an important part in the studies of the Glassco Commission. A separate statement by the French-speaking member of the Commission, Eugene Therrien, suggested the problem was more important and was highly critical of the small number of French-Canadians and small use of French in the public service. Commissioner Therrien recommended that "the coordination of bilingualism in the federal administration....should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Board which represents the general and central administrative authority". (I, 76) This, however, was only Therrien's view, and not the view of the Commission.

The Commission recognized that bilingualism was an important problem in the public service and that "the more obstinate difficulty lies not in the local offices but at the centre of government," (I, 28-9) where the language of administration is almost exclusively English." The Commission felt that if bilingualism is to be achieved in the public service, "the first step must clearly be a program designed to make this key group (the important central administrators) progressively more bilingual." According to the Commission there was a problem in making the public service truly representative, and felt that "a career at the centre of government should be as attractive and congenial to French-speaking as to English-speaking Canadians". But after describing these problems the Commission concluded that

"there are no quick or simple measures available, and even to define clearly what is needed would involve the study of matter lying well beyond the terms of reference of this Commission." Because of this the major recommendations of the Glassco Commission do not take account of bilingual and bicultural factors.

The most important recommendation of the Glassco Commission, as far as the Treasury Board is concerned, was that the responsibility for administrative operations should be taken away from central agencies, especially the Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission, and given to departments. By freeing the Treasury Board from the myopia caused by thousands of detailed decisions, and by removing from departments the burden of detailed, frequently petty, controls, the Commission thought both sides could do their jobs better. The departments could concentrate more on getting their jobs done, and less on evading the detailed control of Treasury Board. The Board could concentrate on the more general questions of service-wide administrative, program, and personnel policy, and could develop a positive approach to encouraging good management and good administration in government.

A second major recommendation of the Glassco Commission was that the activities of the Civil Service Commission should, by-and-large, be restricted to the watchdog activity

of preventing patronage abuses in the public service. After many activities had been delegated to departments, most central functions which remained - apart from preventing patronage - should be transferred to the Treasury Board. Under this proposed system the Treasury Board would have the responsibility for developing overall personnel policy. One of its most important functions would be to ensure that 'the available resources of leadership are used to the greatest advantage of the government as a whole'.

The Treasury Board, with these increased responsibilities, was to become a 'general manager' for the government, with a job in defining priorities of programs, in establishing policies and standards governing the use of money, staff, and other resources, and in assessing the general effectiveness of departmental activities and the performance of departmental administrators.

These changes recommended by the Glassco Commission have been accepted in principle by the government. In some areas the process of making changes is close to completion, in others a great deal of further planning has been necessary before the necessary changes in legislation, organization, and procedures can be made. A major effort is now being made by the public service to reform itself along the guidelines suggested by the Glassco Commission. The Treasury Board especially is in the midst of rapid and important changes in functions, procedures, and personnel.

Although it was true in the past that the Treasury Board did not perform the kind of activity necessary to develop a policy on bilingualism in the public service, and did not have an effective control over personnel administration policy, the circumstances have changed. The Treasury Board soon will be expected to plan, develop, and initiate general administrative and personnel policy, and will have its effective powers enormously increased. Its ability to encourage or impede the growth of bilingualism and biculturalism in the public service will undergo a corresponding increase.

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FINAL REPORT

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Political dealing with difference in
orientations political attitudes between
~~French & English Canadians.~~

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D R A F T

Political Orientations and Ethnicity

or - *in a Bicultural Society*

An analysis of Canadian
survey data prepared for
the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

Saul Frankel
McGill University

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to test, in a preliminary way, the widely-held view that the political attitudes and opinions of French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians differ markedly from each other. It requires little experience of Canadian society to become aware of its two distinct cultural and linguistic communities and to sense that the cultural differences are accompanied by differences in political orientation. But the awareness that differences exist does not satisfy the need to know more fully and precisely where they lie and how great they are.

In 1943, Mr. Wilfrid Sanders, Editorial Director of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, published a small study under the title Jack & Jacques which brought together survey data on English and French attitudes during the early years of the Second World War. It was a very useful and interesting work but somewhat limited in scope. It lacked a general framework of analysis and did not relate the data to demographic variables other than language. There have been many opinion surveys since the war but no effort seems to have been made to extract and classify the information on political attitudes from the perspective of Canada's cultural dualism.

The present study represents a modest attempt to show that fruitful results may be obtained from a careful secondary analysis of existing survey data. It examines sixteen national opinion surveys conducted by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) between May 1962 and January 1965. It sets out to seek, in a systematic way, evidence of significant differences in political orientations as a function of the language group to which respondents belong. The work makes no claim to

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being definitive -- far from it. It draws its data from essentially unrelated surveys, and if it has any unity it is due to an organizing structure that is imposed on the data. Indeed, apart from any insights it might yield, it should be seen as a pilot study that points to the need for more intensive and directed research that is designed to generate and analyse data on the political cultures of Canada.

In addition to the Gallup Poll (CIPO) surveys, I obtained the results of two surveys carried out by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and those of a questionnaire on political attitudes among students at Queen's and Laval Universities. The CBC data did not prove to be particularly relevant and were not incorporated in the study. The Queen's-Laval data were extremely suggestive, but they did not seem to belong in the body of this paper. They are presented, however, in the form of a series of tables in an appendix.

The survey data came to me on tabulating cards and had to be transferred - not without difficulty - to magnetic tape for processing on the IBM 7040 computer. It was then possible to run an elaborate programme of cross classification which produced three-dimensional tables giving a breakdown of responses by language group and by any of seven or eight other variables such as education, age, occupation, community size, etc.

It should be pointed out that for the purposes of this study I assumed that the surveys being examined were based on reasonably good population samples and were well administered. An important reservation needs to be made, however. Although the CIPO national samples reflect the proportions of the major language groups quite accurately, there is a distortion in the provincial distribution. That is, the size of the

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English-speaking sample in Quebec and the French-speaking sample outside of Quebec is regularly much smaller than the actual proportion of these groups to their provincial populations. While this discrepancy did not seriously affect the over-all results it made it difficult to compare, with any degree of accuracy, the attitudes of members of the same language group living inside and outside of Quebec. Where it was possible, however, to discern a pattern of responses with respect to particular issues in a number of successive surveys, even though the sample (say, of English-speaking Quebecers) in each was disproportionately small, the cumulative statistical significance proved to be considerable.

The classification of education causes some slight difficulty due to the differences in the systems of English and French education. The Gallup Poll reconciles the differences in the following way. Regular primary and secondary schooling are treated as equivalent -- there is an école primaire and an école secondaire. The French system also incorporates the private collèges classiques which take students from the beginning of the secondary level through to the Baccalauréat ès arts (Bachot) degree. Within the collège there is a distinction between the cours universitaire which is equivalent to the academic secondary school program and is so classified in the Gallup Poll, and the cours classique. A student who has taken some, but has not completed the cours classique is classified as a secondary school graduate. One who has received the Bachot is classified as a university graduate. Those who do regular university work are, of course, classified as equivalent to their English-speaking counterparts.

Ideally, in developing research on opinions and attitudes one begins with a design that guides the procedures for generating or seeking out the pertinent data. I had intended to use, as a general guide, the typology proposed by Almond and Verba in their Civic Culture, but it soon became evident that the available data would not lend themselves to its particular structure. The typology did suggest, however, a general pattern that could be adapted to the purpose of this study. It may be set up as follows:

	System as a whole	Policies	International environment	French- English relations
Cognition				
Feeling				
Evaluation				

Limitations of data made it necessary to give a broad connotation to the concept of "political attitudes". I have taken them to be orientations towards institutions, policies, activities, symbols, forces and phenomena that are, or may be perceived as aspects of the "political system" in Easton's sense of the term. The vertical "dimensions" of cognition, feeling and evaluation are not so much standards of measurement as convenient ways of grouping different kinds of orientations. Indeed, they could only be applied usefully in the chapters on the "system as a whole" and "policies". Some elaboration is nevertheless called for.

"Cognition" is a straightforward concept. Respondents are sometimes asked whether, or how much, they know about particular issues. In many cases differences in knowledge are related directly to levels of education. But they may also arise from differences in interest or involvement as functions of ethnic group, or class, or region. Actually,

few of the questions dealt with in this study could be fitted into this category.

The dimension of "feeling" is more complex. It refers to responses in which there must be a high degree of unconscious reaction, and in which cultural conditioning and prejudice might play an important part. For example, the answer to "Who do you think is winning the propaganda war, the United States or Russia?" is unlikely to be based on direct knowledge or rational evaluation. It is more likely to be an expression of feeling that reflects prejudgment or fear, optimism or pessimism, and it depends very much on the nature of the respondent's identification with the protagonists. Similarly, attitudes towards phenomena or policies of which the respondent has neither real knowledge nor direct experience are, essentially, expressions of feeling.

The dimension of "evaluation" refers to attitudes of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with, favourable or unfavourable judgments of, policies, institutions, etc. that come within the ambit of the average person's experience. This does not preclude non-rational or emotional responses, for it is the question and not the answer that determines the category. In some instances, it will be seen, evaluation is not directly expressed but is implied.

The horizontal divisions of the organizing framework to which the chapter headings correspond require little explanation. "System as a whole" refers to Canada as a political and social entity. It classifies questions about Canada's relationship to the rest of the world; about her prospects (and by implication about one's own prospects); about major institutions such as Parliament, political parties, public corporations, trade unions, and so on. "Policies" has a wider connotation than "outputs" as used in

Almond and Verba. It includes not only attitudes towards authoritative policies already in effect, but also towards policy proposals that are the subject of public debate, or towards issues that could ultimately lead to policies. In this sense the attitudes may be seen to be "inputs" (demands or supports) of the political system. "International Environment" refers to policies and actions of other political systems that have no direct bearing on Canada. The questions under this heading seek out opinions about such matters as peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union, disarmament, Sino-Soviet relations, the United Nations, and so on. The heading "French-English Relations" groups questions that touch on various aspects of the present crisis in Canadian federalism. It includes, also, attitudes towards national symbols such as the flag, anthem and Commonwealth because these may be seen to be important indices of differences in political culture.

The classification by language group is based on simple criteria that are applied consistently. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion poses the following question in all of its surveys: Mother tongue - What was the language you first spoke in childhood and still understand,? three possible answers are provided for - English, French, Other. The "other" category normally represents between 10 and 15% of the sample and is shown separately in the tables. Since most of those who claim a mother tongue other than English or French live outside of Quebec, it is not unreasonable to assume that they are in the process of assimilating into the English-speaking milieu, a process that pertains not only to language but to political culture as well. This appears to be borne out in the pattern of their responses. By showing this group separately a useful and interesting dimension is added to the analysis.

Finally, a word is needed about the significance of the differences between English and French-speaking respondents that show up in the data. The CIP0 generally uses a national sample of about 725, although a number of the surveys examined were administered to much larger samples. The chi-square test was used to establish the significance of differences. By taking a number of representative cases and compressing the variables of English-French responses into two-by-three tables (English-French by positive-negative-no opinion) the test showed that a difference between English and French of 10% in any two columns was significant at a level of probability of less than .02. For example, Table 13.1 in Chapter I, records a difference of 9% in the positive column, 1% in the negative column, and 12.5% in the "no opinion" column; the computed value of χ^2 is 21.76; P at .01 is 9.93. The "no opinions" are included in the tables because, as will be seen, they are important indices of cultural difference and are only partly due to other variables such as education or socio-economic status. Since the tables are generally similar in their characteristics I made the rough assumption that a difference of 10% was significant without making the exact chi-square computations for all of them. Even more important than the evidence of significant difference in any one table is the cumulative effect when similar differences show up on similar questions that have been put to different and independent samples at different times. It will be seen that most of data in the following chapters arrange themselves into groupings of tables that reinforce each other.

It should be apparent from the above outline of procedure that what is being sought is not evidence of haphazard differences in political

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orientations but of a pattern of differences. Only if such a pattern emerges from the data will it be possible to propose even the most tentative generalizations. Although some attempt will be made to account for what is revealed in the data, it should be reiterated that the primary purpose of this exercise is systematic exposition.

Chapter One

System as a Whole

How do English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians view the civic society in which they have a common citizenship? What do they think about some of the major institutions under whose influence they come? Are they in agreement about Canada's problems and prospects? These are questions that have a bearing on the category of data that will be presented in this chapter.

As indicated in the introductory section the dimension of "cognition" is poorly represented in the survey material being examined. Indeed, none of the questions on the "system as a whole" could be classified under this heading.

Feeling

The dimension of "feeling" about the system as a whole classifies some interesting and significant data. We may begin with a very general question.

Table 1.1 (CIPO - September 1962)

Q: As you look to the future, do you think life for people generally will get better or will it get worse?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Will get better	59.0	30.0	46.0	49.5
Will get worse	15.5	32.5	27.5	21.5
About the same	17.5	27.0	23.0	21.0
No opinion	6.0	10.5	3.5	7.0
No answer	2.0	--	--	1.0
Number:	408	199	91	698

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In answering this question the respondent is probably expressing a feeling about his own prospects as well as those of the society in which he finds himself. The English-speaking part of the sample is significantly more optimistic than the French. It would be reasonable to suppose that there is a correlation between education and optimism - the better educated having better prospects of realizing their various personal goals. If this were so, the difference could be sufficiently explained by the larger proportion of less educated among the French-speaking Canadians. This, however, is not the case, as Table 1.2 shows.

Table 1.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Better	56.5	16.0	47.5	44.0	22.0	22.0	61.0	32.5	50.0	64.5	44.5	46.0
Worse	17.0	33.0	24.0	16.0	28.0	35.0	15.0	34.5	29.0	16.0	27.5	31.0
Same	13.5	34.0	19.0	31.0	39.0	39.0	18.5	22.0	21.0	17.0	28.0	23.0
No opinion	13.0	17.0	9.5	9.0	11.0	4.0	6.5	11.0	—	2.5	—	—
Number	53	70	21	57	18	23	159	55	24	76	36	13
% Lang. Gp.	13.	35.	23.	14.	9.	25.	39.	27.5	26.5	18.5	18.	14.5

(Note that those who do not go beyond Secondary Education represent:

English 84.5%
 French 89.5%
 Others 89.0% of the sample)

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The same pattern of difference between English and French recurs in the tabulation by province, by age group and by community size. It is noteworthy that in communities of over 100,000 those in the English group who think life will be better represent 68.5% as against the average of 59.0% for all English respondents. The corresponding French group is 30.0% which is about equal to the average.

One seems to get a surprising reversal of "feeling" in a question that was posed in January 1963 (different sample). This question was more direct in specifying Canada as a nation.

Table 2.1 (CIPO - January 1963)

Q: Generally speaking, do you think Canada's development as a nation is as sound as you think it might be, or is there some way in which it isn't sound?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sound	41.0	45.5	40.5	42.0
Not as sound as could be	43.0	32.0	34.5	39.0
Undecided	16.0	22.5	25.0	19.0
Number	459	191	99	749

The difference between the English and French-speaking respondents is not particularly significant, but the contrast here is between the relative pessimism of the French group shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 and the apparently greater degree of optimism that appears in Table 2.1. Before suggesting a possible explanation it would be useful to look at the results of a question asked in a later survey.

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Table 3.1 (CIPO - February 1964)

Q: Some people think that Canada is going to see a continued period of prosperity within the next year. Others do not agree. What is your opinion?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Even more prosperous	58.0	71.5	70.0	63.5
Less prosperous	9.0	14.0	3.5	9.5
About the same	29.5	14.5	25.5	24.5
Qualified	1.0	--	--	
don't know	2.5	--	1.0	1.5
Number	411	200	83	694

The optimism of the French-speaking group is both impressive in itself and significantly greater than that of the English-speaking group. It is noteworthy, too, that this optimism in the French sample is quite evenly distributed by education. Of those with only a primary education 68% believe in greater prosperity. The corresponding percentage of those with a secondary education is 74. If we look at the variable of community size we find that the responses for all language groups show greater optimism in the large cities. Table ³4.2 distributes the responses in the smallest and largest population centres.

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Table 3.2 - Community Size

	<u>Rural Town under 1,000 pop.</u>			<u>Over 100,000</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>
More prosperous	34.0	63.5	43.0	68.0	80.5	79.0
Less prosperous	11.0	22.0	28.5	9.0	4.5	2.0
About the same	53.5	14.5	28.5	19.0	15.0	19.0
Qualified	--	0	0	1.0	0	0
O.K. Don't Know	1.5	0	0	3.0	0	0
Number	71	41	7	171	88	58
% Lang. Grp.	17.3	20.5	8.4	41.6	44.0	69.9

One can hazard a tentative explanation of the data presented in Tables 1 - 3. In the first place, the time factor must be of some significance. The socio-economic context of the French-speaking Canadians is essentially the Province of Quebec. In September 1962 there was still some uncertainty about the province's prospects. It was only after the provincial general election of November 1962 that the tempo of political innovation and economic growth really became apparent. The optimism about Canada's future as a nation (January 1963) and continued prosperity (February 1964) might therefore be, at least in part, a reflection of Quebec's progress.

The difference between the English and French respondents in Table 3.1 may be more apparent than real. If one adds the figures of those who say "more prosperous" and those who say "about the same" they total 87.5% for the English-speaking and 86% for the French-speaking. It may be that those who are most accustomed to the signs of economic growth tend to be more matter of fact about it. There is also the possible factor of

culture and temperament. The English-speaking respondent may be seen as more cautious and pragmatic; when given the choice he may be more likely to hedge or qualify his answers than his French-speaking counterpart. This latter point will keep recurring in various guises as part of the analysis of the data. It should not be dismissed as a cliché of conventional wisdom or as an intuitive generalization. It will be seen to flow from the available evidence.

There is another hypothesis that might be considered as an explanation of the greater pessimism of the French-speaking respondent when he contemplates life in the future and his relative optimism when he opines about Canada's prospect as a nation. It is that he does not, to the same extent as the English Canadian, identify his personal lot with that of the country as a whole.

In November 1963 respondents were asked to assess their personal prospects for the future and the English-speaking sample scored significantly higher in optimism.

Table 4.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the future facing you and your family?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes, satisfied	76.0	64.0	69.0	72.0
No, not satisfied	14.0	26.5	13.0	17.0
Cannot say	10.0	9.5	18.0	11.0
Number	428	186	94	708

When a similar question was asked a year later the results were almost identical in so far as the positive assertion of optimism was concerned.

Table 5.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: Looking ahead to 1965, as far as you personally are concerned, do you think it will be a better or a worse year than 1964?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Better	75.5	62.5	78.5	72.5
Worse	8.0	10.5	5.5	8.5
Same	9.5	8.0	7.0	8.5
Can't say	7.0	19.0	9.0	10.5
Number	437	193	89	719

In Table 5.1 the greatest difference in optimism occurs among those who have had some secondary school education - English 76% (N:236), French 59.5% (N:82). The proportion of those who "can't say" in the French sample is more than double that of the English sample on every educational level.

A different kind of question that may be fitted into the category of "system as a whole" has to do with the perception of the political party process. The following was posed in May 1962, on the eve of general election.

Table 6.1 (CIPO - May 1962)

Q: Do you think it makes a great deal of difference which political party runs this country?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	50.0	39.5	38.0	45.5
No	38.0	41.5	28.0	37.5
No opinion	11.0	17.5	15.5	13.5
No answer	1.0	1.5	18.5	3.5
Number	1604	744	363	2711

The difference of 10.5% among those who think (feel) that it makes a difference is quite significant in a sample of 2711. The larger proportion of the French-speaking group in the lower educational levels accounts for the larger percentage with "no opinion" in this group. But the disparity in what might be termed a positive view of party competition is quite consistent through all the educational levels. ~~But the disparity in what might be termed a positive view of party competition is quite consistent through all the educational levels.~~ Indeed, the disparity is greatest among the more highly educated.

Table 6.2 - Education

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>Some University</u>			<u>Completed University</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	51.0	40.0	47.5	53.5	38.5	37.5	63.0	43.5	75.0
No	40.0	37.0	24.0	40.5	61.5	37.5	30.5	56.5	16.5
No opinion	8.5	18.0	7.0	6.0	0	25.0	4.5	0	0
No answer	.5	5.0	21.5	0	0	—	2.0	0	8.5
Number	361	117	42	97	13	16	92	23	12
% Lang.Gp.	22.5	15.5	11.5	6.0	1.7	4.5	5.7	3.0	3.3

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The above data have a bearing on the "sense of political efficacy" which will be explored in the general conclusions of this study.

Two questions on what might be termed the "sense of socio-economic efficacy" appeared in the Gallup Poll of August 1964. The first asked whether poverty was more attributable to some personal inadequacy or to objective circumstances. The English respondents were significantly less inclined than

Table 7.1 (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: Generally speaking, in your opinion, which is more often to blame if a person is poor - lack of effort on his part, or circumstances beyond his control?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lack of effort	35.0	16.5	37.5	30.0
Circumstances	30.5	48.5	22.5	34.0
Both equally	30.0	30.0	30.5	30.0
Don't know	4.5	5.0	9.5	6.0
Number	415	198	112	725

the French to place the blame on circumstances. This might be due in part to the greater relative prosperity of the English-speaking population. But it could also be related to religion. It is generally held that the "Protestant ethic" attributes a great deal of responsibility to the individual for his worldly success or failure whereas Catholicism tends to be more fatalistic. It would have been interesting to control the answers by religion but, unfortunately, the Gallup Polls no longer ask for religious identification. In any case, almost all of the French respondents are Catholic whereas the great majority of English-speaking respondents would be Protestant.

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The distribution of responses by education within each of the language groups reveals a sharper difference between the less educated and the more educated in the

Table 7.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Lack of effort	16.5	12.5	25.0	20.5	5.0	41.0	38.0	21.0	33.5
Circumstances	39.0	47.0	33.5	37.5	60.0	22.5	30.5	50.0	9.5
Both equally	39.0	29.5	21.0	33.0	25.0	27.5	27.5	27.5	43.0
Don't know	5.5	11.0	20.5	9.0	10.0	9.0	4.0	1.5	14.0
Number	361	64	24	64	20	22	134	66	21
% Lang. Gp.	8.7	32.3	21.4	15.4	10.1	19.6	32.3	33.3	18.7
	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>Technical</u>			<u>University</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Lack of effort	37.0	20.5	41.5	45.0	0	57.0	44.5	28.5	43.0
Circumstances	30.5	45.0	21.0	24.0	60.0	43.0	22.0	36.0	14.5
Both equally	29.0	34.5	37.5	31.0	40.0	0	28.5	35.5	35.5
Don't know	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	5.0	0	7.0
Number	89	29	24	29	5	7	63	14	14
% Lang. Gp.	21.4	14.6	21.4	7.0	2.5	6.2	15.2	7.1	12.5

English sample than in the French sample. It should be noted that those in the "other" group (most probably immigrants) are less inclined to blame circumstances than either the English or French respondents.

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The second question has to do with influence ("pull") as a factor in making one's way in today's world. There is a remarkable uniformity

Table 8.1 (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: It has been said that what counts today is not what you can do, or how hard working you are, but whom you know and how much influence you have. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Agree	59.0	63.0	59.0	60.0
Disagree	33.0	30.5	33.0	32.0
Don't know	8.0	6.5	8.0	8.0
Number	415	198	112	725

In the distribution of responses in all language groups. Some difference shows up, however, in the breakdown by education. There is a definite tendency in the English-speaking sample to downgrade the importance of "pull" as education increases, but a similar tendency is not as apparent in the French sample.

Table 8.2

Education

	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>	
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>
Some Primary	69.5	65.5	11.0	26.5	19.5	8.0
Completed Primary	68.5	65.0	22.0	25.0	9.5	10.0
Some Secondary	63.5	57.5	28.5	36.5	8.0	6.0
Completed Secondary	53.0	65.5	40.5	31.0	6.5	3.5
University	41.0	64.5	52.5	35.5	5.5	0

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The following three tables need little comment. They reveal "feelings" about the role of the labour movement (Trade Unions), the church and religion.

Table 9.1 (CIPQ - August 1963)

Q: Generally speaking do you think Labour is entitled or not entitled to the higher wages they are demanding?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Union Member</u> <u>in family</u>			<u>No Union Member</u> <u>in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes, entitled	44.0	59.0	56.0	60.0	66.0	64.5	39.0	56.0	53.5
Some are entitled	29.0	29.0	22.5	26.5	27.0	17.5	30.0	30.0	24.0
Not entitled	22.5	5.5	10.5	10.5	3.5	12.0	26.0	6.5	10.5
Undecided	4.5	6.5	11.0	3.0	3.5	6.0	5.0	7.5	12.0
Number	435	202	75	98	59	17	337	143	58
% Lang. Gp.				22.5	29.2	22.7	77.5	70.8	77.3

The difference between English and French respondents is impressive. It may be accounted for in part by the general recognition that wages in Quebec are lower than in Ontario and Western Canada. It may also be due to the favourable image of the trade-union movement in Quebec as one of the main vehicles of reform and modernization.

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Table 10.1 (CIPO - June 1962)

Q: At the present time do you think religion, as a whole, is increasing its influence on Canadian life, or losing its influence?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Increasing	26.5	18.5	26.5	24.0
Losing	34.0	41.0	28.0	35.5
About same	27.5	29.0	18.0	26.5
No opinion	11.0	9.5	10.0	10.5
No answer	1.0	2.0	17.5	3.5
Number	428	186	94	708

Table 11.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Do you think churches should take a definite stand for or against nuclear weapons and nuclear tests - or should the church not involve itself?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Should stand for	7.0	7.5	11.5	7.5
Should stand against	14.0	23.0	17.0	17.0
Should not be involved	71.0	55.5	65.0	66.0
Qualified	1.5	1.5	0	1.5
Cannot say	6.5	12.5	6.5	8.0
Number	428	186	94	708

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The fact that the religious context is quite different for the two language groups undoubtedly accounts for the differences in the two tables. Table 10.1 reflects the fact that there has been a greater relative decline in the importance of religion in Quebec. Table 11.1 sustains the view that Catholics are ready to accept a greater involvement of their church in non-religious matters than are Protestants.

Evaluation

The dimension of "evaluation" differs from that of "feeling" in that the opinions or attitudes expressed are considered to have some foundation in direct knowledge or experience of the matter in question. As in the previous section of this chapter the classification of questions within this dimension is necessarily loose because one is attempting to impose a form on material that is rather intractable.

We may turn first to a question that was asked in a number of successive CIPO surveys. It is an open-ended question that gives the respondent a large number of alternative answers to choose from. The result is therefore somewhat confused. Some of the data, however, are interesting and suggestive and may prove to be relevant when the study comes to the stage of tentative generalization. The question is: What do you feel is the greatest single problem facing Canada today? Of the alternative answers proposed to the respondent one stands out for its concreteness - the unemployment situation. It is also the first on the list of alternatives that is shown to the respondent. It is not surprising therefore, that by far the largest proportion in each of the language groups chooses unemployment as the major problem.. It is remarkable, too, that the percentages by language group show little variation.

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Table 12.1

Those who say unemployment is the greatest single problem facing Canada today. (or variation: "facing the Federal Government in Ottawa...")

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number</u>
May 1962	48.5	51.5	42.5	48.5	(2711)
June 1962	48.5	49.0	40.5	47.5	(1350)
March 1963	32.0	39.5	32.5	34.0	(1995)
August 1963	39.0	35.5	34.5	38.0	(712)
August 1964	30.0	35.5	31.0	32.0	(725)

The decline in percentages between May 1962 and August 1964 may be readily attributed to the improving economic and employment situation.

There is a remarkable difference between the English and French-speaking respondents, on the one hand, and those classified as "others", on the other hand, in the perception of social welfare as a problem. It is, nevertheless, a diminishing problem as a result of the steady expansion of welfare services.

Table 12.2

Those who say social security, national health plan, pensions, housing, etc. are the major problems facing Canada.

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>
May 1962	3.2	2.4	20.6
June 1962	1.9	3.6	19.0
March 1963	2.0	.9	12.0
August 1964	3.0	.5	4.5

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The survey of August 1963 introduced for the first time "Relation with Quebec, Separatism" as one of the alternatives on the list of answers. It is noteworthy that only 7% (14) of the French-speaking respondents, and 3.2% (13) of the English-speaking considered this as "the greatest single problem facing the Federal government in Ottawa today". A year later, however, the percentages rose to 12.5 for the English sample and 12.0 for the French.

An evaluation of the system as a whole and its place in the world is implied in questions on Canada's dependence on the United States. A different dimension is added to the question when the respondent is asked whether dependence is or is not a good thing. Thus we find a small difference between the two language groups in judging the tendency of Canada's dependence on the U.S.A.

It would seem however that both the issue of increasing dependence and its implications hold less

Table 13.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: Do you think Canada is becoming more dependent on the U.S. or less dependent than it was, say 10 years ago?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
More dependent	51.0	46.0	36.5	48.0
Less dependent	21.0	16.0	19.5	19.5
No difference=	16.0	16.5	14.0	15.5
Don't know	11.0	20.5	19.0	14.5
No answer	1.0	1.	11.0	2.5
Number	1591	742	374	2707

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concern and interest for French than for English-speaking Canadians. This hypothesis is suggested by the smaller proportion of French respondents who think Canada is becoming more dependent and also by the much larger proportion of French who "don't know". A glance at the breakdown by education shows that it has little effect on the percentage of "don't knows" and this suggests, in turn, that the issue is less prominent in French news coverage and editorial comment. (The progression of English "don't knows" from low primary to completed secondary education is: 19.0%, 16.0%, 13.0%, 5.3%; the French progression is 23.0%, 21.7%, 19.0%, 18.0%.)

There is a startling difference when those who answered "more dependent" were asked if this was a good thing or not a good thing. It suggests that the French are less worried than the English by the problem of dependence on the United States and its implications for Canadian nationhood.

Table 13.2 (CIP0 - April 1963)

Q: If more dependent, is it a good thing for Canada or not a good thing?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>
Good thing	40.5	66.0	51.0
Not a good thing	50.5	26.0	42.0
Qualified	3.5	1.0	1.5
No opinion	5.5	7.0	5.5
Number	812	341	139

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There is a strange shift of attitudes towards Canadian-American relations when the question is phrased in terms of the financing of Canada's development.

Table 14.1 (CIPO - June 1963)

Q: As you know a lot of Canada's development has been financed by U.S. money. Do you think this has been a good thing for Canada, or not a good thing?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Good thing	61.0	50.0	47.0	56.0
Not a good thing	27.5	26.5	34.0	28.0
Qualified	1.0	.5	0	1.0
Don't know	10.5	23.0	19.0	15.0
Number	405	193	89	687

It seems that many English Canadians do not see American investment in Canada as an aspect of Canada's dependence on the U.S.A. The difference between English and French-speaking respondents on this question seems to be not so much one of substance as one of general interest in the problem. The greater number of English-speaking who say "It is a good thing" is not balanced by a similar preponderance of French-speaking who say "It is not a good thing". It is in the category of "don't knows" that the reciprocal difference really shows up, and it is only partly attributable to differences in the levels of education. This is further evidence that Canadian-American relations is not as great an issue in French Canada as it is in English Canada.

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Table 14.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Good thing	47.0	46.5	56.5	50.0	47.0	33.5
Not a good thing	36.0	17.0	39.0	31.5	29.5	29.0
Qualified	0	0	0	0	-	-
Don't know	17.0	36.5	4.5	18.5	23.5	37.5
<hr/>						
Number	47	58	23	54	17	24
% Lang. Gp.	11.5	30.0	25.8	13.3	8.8	26.8
<hr/>						
	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Good thing	54.5	50.0	36.5	70.5	56.5	89.0
Not a good thing	33.5	28.0	41.0	22.0	30.5	11.0
Qualified	1.5	0	0	2.0	2.5	0
Don't know	10.5	22.0	22.5	5.5	10.5	0
<hr/>						
Number	134	68	22	109	39	9
% Lang. Gp.	33.0	35.2	24.7	26.8	20.2	10.0

A similar kind of question appeared in the survey of November 1963, except that respondents were asked to make a quantitative rather than a qualitative

Table 15.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Do you think there is enough United States capital in Canada now, or would you like to see more US capital invested in this country?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Enough now	49.5	37.5	44.5	46.0
Need more	34.0	32.0	29.0	32.5
Undecided	16.5	30.5	26.5	21.5
Number	428	186	94	708

judgment, and one that implied future policy rather than an assessment of the past. The English sample again shows a more definite concern about American investment in Canada. In the breakdown by trade-union affiliation it is surprising to find that English-speaking trade-unionists, many of whose jobs must depend on the flow of U.S. investment, show the highest incidence of opposition to further investment.

Table 15.2Union Membership

	<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>
Enough now	59.5	34.0	35.5	45.5	39.5	48.5
Need more	31.0	32.0	25.0	35.0	34.5	30.5
Undecided	9.5	34.0	39.5	19.5	39.0 29.0	21.0
Number	119	62	28	309	124	66
% Lang. Gp.	27.7	33.3	29.8	72.3	66.7	70.2

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The issue of Canada's independence vis-à-vis the United States was posed directly in August 1964. To be sure, an overwhelming majority of Canadians opted for independence, but among those who urged joining the United States the largest proportion appeared in the French-speaking group. The difference of 7.5% between

Table 16.1 (GPO - August 1964)

Q: On the whole, do you think Canada should join the United States or remain independent?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Join U.S.A.	10.5	18.0	16.0	13.5
Remain independent	86.0	76.0	73.5	81.0
Qualified	.5	.5	0	.5
Undecided	3.0	5.5	10.5	5.0
Number	415	198	112	725

English and French is only marginally significant for this particular sample, but it is reinforced by the data from the previous tables which show that French-speaking Canadians perceive the American impact on Canada less negatively than English Canadians. The distribution by trade-union membership shows that it makes no difference in the English sample but it is a significant factor in the aggregate of French responses.

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Table 16.2Union Membership

	<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>
Join U.S.A.	10.5	25.0	12.5	10.5	15.0	17.5
Remain indp.	86.5	69.0	84.5	86.0	79.0	68.5
Qualified	0	1.5	0	1.0	0	0
Undecided	3.0	4.5	3.0	2.5	6.0	14.0
Number	95	64	32	319	133	79
% Lang. Gp.	22.9	32.3	28.6	76.9	67.2	70.5

It was suggested at the beginning of this series of tables that attitudes on various aspects of relations between Canada and the United States could provide some index of evaluation of the system as a whole. The cumulative evidence of these tables indicates that French-speaking respondents are less concerned about and, indeed, more positively disposed towards the impingement of the United States on Canada. The inference that may be drawn is one that substantiates the oft-expressed generalization that French Canadians tend to value the ideal of Canadian nationhood less than English Canadians. This is not to minimize, however, the sense of French-Canadian nationhood. The issue is simply not broached directly in the questions that have been tabulated.

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A question about the member of Parliament is included in this chapter because it implies an indirect evaluation of the parliamentary function.

Table 17.1 (CIPO - August 1963)

Q: As you know annual incomes for Federal members of Parliament have been raised from \$10,000. a year to \$18,000. a year. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Approve	31.5	22.0	20.0	28.0
Disapprove	59.0	59.0	60.0	59.0
Undecided	9.5	19.0	20.0	13.0
Number	435	202	75	712

Disapproval by 59% of the sample is consistent in the three languages categories. It would seem, however, that in a question of this kind it requires more deliberation to express an attitude of approval than of disapproval. The 9.5% greater approval by the English-speaking group is balanced by the greater percentage of "undecided" in the "French" column. One usually finds that there is a negative correlation between "undecided" or "don't know" and education. This is not the case here. The significant difference in the percentage of "undecideds" as between the two major language groups is among those who have had a secondary education, or better. It is difficult to know whether this bespeaks a more qualified attitude on the part of the French-speaking or a greater indifference towards a major federal institution. An interesting test would be to compare attitudes by region. Unfortunately, the sample is not properly stratified for such a test, as may be seen from the following table.

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Table 17.2Region

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Approve	20.5	23.0	0	40.0	20.5	55.5	32.5	38.5	23.5
Disapprove	66.5	77.0	100.0	46.5	57.5	33.5	59.5	61.5	44.0
Undecided	13.0	0	0	13.5	22.0	11.0	8.0	0	32.5
Number	54	13	1	15	172	9	204	13	34
% Lang. Gp.	12.4	6.5	1.3	3.4	85.1	12.0	46.7	6.5	45.3

An observation of secondary interest may be made here. In controlling the answers by age group it was found that the rate of "disapproval" increased with age in both language groups.

There is some evidence of significant differences in socio-political orientation in the two major language groups which is revealed in their perception of the role or efficacy of the main economic interest groups in the political process.

Table 18.1 (CIPO - February 1964)

Q: At the present time which of these groups do you think has the most influence on the government - Labor Unions, Large Companies or Farm Organizations?

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	<u>Totals</u>			<u>Union member</u>			<u>No Union member</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Labor Unions	29.0	13.5	37.5	23.5	21.5	36.5	30.5	9.5	37.5
Big Companies	43.0	77.0	34.0	49.0	72.5	41.0	41.0	79.0	31.0
Farm organizations	11.0	4.5	14.5	10.5	4.5	9.0	11.5	4.5	16.5
Undecided	15.0	5.0	12.0	15.0	1.5	4.5	15.5	7.0	15.0
No answer	2.0	0	2.0	2.0	0	9.0	1.5	0	0
Number	411	200	83	94	65	22	317	135	61
% Language group				23.0	32.5	26.5	77.0	67.5	73.5

The great majority (77%) of French-speaking respondents regard the large companies as the major influence on government. This is in sharp contrast to the 43% of the English-speaking group. A number of inferences suggest themselves. First, the extent that influence is attributed to a group with which one is not identified it implies a sense of political ineffectiveness. Secondly, the sense of relative ineffectiveness is probably reinforced and exacerbated by the image of large companies as English institutions. Thirdly, the data may be seen as providing supporting evidence for a general-~~the image of large companies as English institutions~~ Their ization that I propose to put forward - that French-speaking Canadians are more "leftist" than their English-speaking counterparts. By "leftist" I mean disposed to making changes in a situation or condition in which they find themselves without being inhibited by the traditional notions of private property and free enterprise. In the breakdown of answers to the above question by socio-economic status there was no appreciable difference between those of high and those of low status in the French group.

Table 18.2 - SES

	High SES			Medium High		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Labor Unions	17.5	0	100.0	25.0	17.5	31.0
Big Companies	53.0	86.0	0	51.5	80.5	50.0
Farm Organizations	6.0	0	0	11.0	2.0	7.5
Undecided	17.5	14.0	0	10.5	0	11.5
No answer	6.0	0	0	2.0	0	0
N						
Number	17	7	2	115	51	26
% Lang. Gp.	4.1	3.5	2.4	28.0	25.5	31.3
	Medium			Low		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Labor Unions	30.5	13.0	35.0	35.0	11.5	46.5
Big Companies	40.0	75.0	35.0	30.5	77.0	7.0
Farm Organizations	10.0	4.5	17.5	18.5	11.5	20.0
Undecided	17.5	7.5	7.5	16.0	0	26.5
No answer	2.0	0	5.0	0	0	0
Number	236	116	40	43	26	15
% Lang. Gp.	57.4	58.0	48.2	10.5	13.0	18.1

(re "undecideds" - a qualification in this context - Engl - 15%, Fr. 5%)

A somewhat related question shows a more favourable evaluation of union leadership by French-speaking respondents. It seems to be part of a consistent pattern of more positive attitudes towards the labour movement in French Canada.

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Table 19.1 (CIPO - February 1964)

Q: Do you think, generally speaking, organized labour is being wisely led or unwisely led by its leaders?

	<u>Totals</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Wisely	35.5	42.0	42.0	53.0	41.0	63.5	34.0	66.5	33.3
Unwisely	44.0	31.5	36.0	29.5	28.5	27.5	44.5	25.0	33.3
No opinion	20.5	26.5	22.0	17.5	30.5	9.0	21.5	8.5	33.4
Number	411	200	83	17	163	11	200	12	33
% Lang. Gp.				4.1	81.5	13.3	48.6	6.0	39.7

The difference shows up prominently in the judgment that labour is "unwisely led". A factor that must be taken into account is the relative youth of the "national" trade-union movement in Quebec and the role that it has played, under a university-trained leadership, in the general movement of political reform. This has given it a positive image among French-Canadians.

Table 19.2

Union Membership

	<u>Union</u>			<u>Non Union</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Wisely	44.5	49.0	45.5	33.0	38.5	41.0
Unwisely	37.5	31.0	32.0	46.0	32.0	37.5
No opinion	18.0	20.0	22.5	21.0	29.5	21.5
Number	94	65	22	317	135	61
% Lang. Gp.	22.8	32.5	26.5	77.2	67.5	73.5

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A somewhat biased question about union leadership appeared in the survey of November 1964. The evidence of differences between English and French respondents is not very significant in itself, but it is consistent in showing that French Canadians have a more favourable view of the labour movement than other Canadians.

Table 20.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: Some people say that there are too many trouble makers and agitators among union leaders. Others say this talk is only anti-labor propaganda. What are your views on this?

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Trouble makers	50.5	42.0	45.0	47.5
Just propaganda	26.0	21.5	26.0	25.0
Other	3.5	4.0	4.5	3.5
Some of both	2.0	.5	2.0	2.0
Undecided	18.0	32.0	22.5	22.0
Number	437	193	89	719

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Chapter Two

Policies

In the conceptual framework of the political system authoritative policies are quite properly regarded as "outputs". When one is examining orientations towards policies, however, the focus is on "inputs". The answer to a question that solicits an opinion or a judgment of an actual or projected policy expresses in a very real way the respondent's expectations from the political system. In presenting the data on differences of orientation towards policies as a function of language group, this chapter will also suggest that there are differences in the pattern and intensity of demands and expectations.

Cognition

There are two questions that may be classified under cognition. One of them is particularly interesting because it points up the problem of communication.

Table 1.1 (CIPO - January 1963)

Q: Do you happen to have heard or read anything about "Medicare?"

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	82.0	24.0	80.0	67.0
No	18.0	76.0	20.0	33.0
N.	459	191	99	749

The great disparity between the French respondents and the others suggested almost immediately that the question did not have the same meaning for them. What had happened was that the term "Medicare" was retained in the French version of the question (Avez-vous entendu parler ou lu des articles au sujet de "Medicare?") The term was not a familiar one, however, French journalists and broadcasters in discussing public health schemes, use the term "l'assurance sante" rather than the catchy anglicism. It is worth noting that whereas education and cognition were directly related in the English-speaking part of the sample there was no such relationship in the French group. This is further evidence that the term "medicare" is generally unknown in French.

Table 1.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	61.5	26.0	55.0	69.0	24.0	92.0	80.0	23.0	83.5	89.0	22.0	90.5
No	38.5	74.0	45.0	31.0	76.0	8.0	20.0	77.0	16.5	11.0	78.0	9.5
No.	39	58	20	77	29	12	145	65	30	106	27	21
% Lang. Gp.	8.5	30.4	20.2	16.8	15.2	12.1	31.6	34.1	30.3	23.1	14.1	21.2

The second question had to do with the government's trusteeship over the Seamen's International Union. The English respondents scored somewhat higher in

Table 2.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Do you happen to have heard or read about the Trusteeship set up for the SIU by the Government in Ottawa - that is over the five marine unions headed by Hal Banks?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Union members in family</u>			<u>No union members in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	69.0	61.5	55.5	67.5	61.5	43.0	69.5	61.5	60.5
No	31.0	38.5	44.5	32.5	38.5	57.0	30.5	38.5	39.5
No.	428	186	94	119	62	28	309	124	66
% Lang. Gp.				27.7	33.3	29.8	72.3	66.7	70.1

cognition. This is easily explained by the generally higher levels of education.

Indeed, one might have expected a much greater difference if account were taken of the fact that about 50% of the French speaking as opposed to 24% of the English-speaking respondents did not have an education beyond the primary school. The fact that Quebec Province was the main locale of the "Hal Banks Affair" probably explains the relatively high rate of cognition.

Feeling

Two questions that have implications for immigration, and two on capital punishment provide interesting data on feelings about possible policies. The French respondents adopt the more conservative position on both of these issues.

Table 3.1 (CIPO - August 1963)

Q: Would you like to see Canada with a much larger population,
or do you think the present population is just about right?

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Much larger	49.0	44.0	57.5	48.5
Just right	39.5	50.0	37.5	42.0
Qualified	8.5	1.0	5.0	6.0
Can't say	3.0	5.0	0	3.5
No.	435	202	75	712

Table 4.1 (CIPO - January 1965)

Q: Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population,
or do you think the present population is just about right?

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Larger Pop.	48.0	39.5	71.0	48.0
Just about right now	44.0	51.5	28.0	44.5
Undecided	8.0	9.0	1.0	7.5
N	462	188	79	729

The pattern is quite consistent. Those whose mother tongue is other than English or French (who are probably immigrants or of immigrant stock) are particularly in favour of a much larger population. While the difference between the English and French speaking respondents is not great, it is apparently

significant because it occurs in both polls. It shows up somewhat more decisively in the response "just about right now". The relatively large proportion of English "qualifieds" (Table 3.1) reinforces the difference because a qualified response in this case implies "yes, if ...".

Table 4.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Larger Population	43.0	19.5	69.5	43.5	29.5	60.0	40.5	49.5	54.5
Just about right	45.5	71.5	30.5	50.0	59.0	40.0	51.5	39.5	41.0
Undecided	11.5	9.0	0	6.5	11.5	0	8.0	11.0	4.5
No.	35	66	13	96	17	20	165	63	22
% Lang. Group	7.6	35.1	16.4	20.8	9.0	25.3	35.7	33.5	27.8

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Larger Population	50.5	53.0	100.0	69.0	100.0	83.5
Just about right	40.5	41.5	0	23.0	0	16.5
Undecided	9.0	5.5	0	8.0	0	0
No.	91	36	12	61	4	6
% Lang. Group	19.7	19.1	15.2	13.2	2.1	7.6

Table 4.2 which controls the answers for education suggests that the greatest difference occurs in the least educated strata.

The question on capital punishment show that there is a general reluctance to depart from the traditional punitive response to murder. The French group, however, is significantly less inclined to do away with the death penalty than the English or Others. It is surprising that education does not seem to be an important factor in shaping this attitude.

Table 5.1 (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: Which of these comes closest to the way you feel about convicted murderers?

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Life imprisonment	48.5	35.0	52.5	36.0	34.5	37.5	39.0	25.0	54.5
Death penalty for men	1.5	1.0	3.5	0	1.5	0	1.5	5.0	0
Death penalty for all	42.0	59.0	40.5	53.0	50.0	54.0	51.5	70.0	45.5
No opinion	8.0	5.0	3.5	11.0	14.0	8.5	8.0	0	0
N.	415	198	112	36	64	24	64	20	22
% Lang. Gp.				8.7	32.3	21.4	15.4	10.1	19.6
	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Life imprisonment	53.0	38.0	62.0	48.5	31.0	62.5	58.5	43.0	57.0
Death penalty for men	2.0	0	0	1.0	0	8.5	1.5	0	14.5
Death penalty for all	37.5	60.5	38.0	38.0	69.0	25.0	33.5	57.0	21.5
No opinion	7.5	1.5	0	12.5	0	4.0	6.5	0	7.0
N.	134	66	21	89	29	24	63	14	14
% Lang. Gp.	32.3	33.3	18.7	21.4	14.6	21.4	15.2	7.1	12.5

Table 6.1 (CIPO - January 1965)

Q: Some people say we should do away altogether with capital punishment - that is executing a person for murder. Do you think we should not abolish capital punishment?

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should abolish	37.5	26.0	39.5	37.0	29.0	31.0	34.5	29.5	30.0
Should not "	53.0	65.0	53.0	51.5	65.0	38.5	56.0	47.0	60.0
No opinion	9.5	9.0	7.5	11.5	6.0	30.5	9.5	23.5	10.0
N.	462	188	79	35	66	13	96	17	20
% Lang. Gp.				7.6	35.1	16.4	20.8	9.0	25.3

	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should abolish	36.5	27.0	45.5	44.0	19.5	33.5	36.0	0	83.5
Should not "	54.0	65.0	54.5	44.0	72.0	66.5	59.0	100.0	16.5
No opinion	9.5	8.0	0	12.0	8.5	0	5.0	0	0
N.	165	63	22	91	36	12	61	4	6
% Lang. Gp.	35.7	33.5	27.8	19.7	19.1	15.2	13.2	2.1	7.6

A series of questions on defence and military policy are included in this section under the aspect of "feeling". It might be argued that opinions about defence policies are evaluations, but it seemed more appropriate to treat them as "feelings" for two reasons. In the first place, the ordinary citizen

knows very little about the technical or strategic aspects of modern military operations. He does not react to policy decisions in this area in terms of knowledge or meaningful personal experience. Secondly - and this is the more important reason - defence policy has frequently been a source of political controversy and high emotion in our history. Indeed, some of the most dramatic tensions between English and French Canada have been generated by bitter disagreements over our military role.

Q: Are you satisfied with the present Canadian defence policies or do you think there is need to take a new look at our defence policies?

	<u>Table 7.1</u> (CIPO - June 1962)		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
Satisfied	37.0	27.0	29.0
Dissatisfied	35.0	34.0	28.0
No opinion	27.0	37.0	25.5
No answer	1.0	2.0	17.5
N.	1552	765	382

The table reflects the fact that defence policy was not an important issue in the summer of 1962. A high proportion of the respondents in all the language groups had no opinion to offer. Of the "other" category 17.5% refused to answer the question. This suggests a reluctance on the part of those who do

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not yet feel themselves fully integrated into the society to express a view on what they regard as a sensitive question. Although there is a significant spread of 10% between English and French "satisfieds", there is almost no difference in the direct expression of dissatisfaction. The larger proportion of "no opinions" among the French-speaking respondents can be partly accounted for by the significantly lower educational level of the French group. Those with only a primary education account for 54% of the French sample and of these 41.5% had no opinion. The corresponding proportions for the English group are 31% and 30.5%. Table 7.2 gives the breakdown by age and indicates that the sharpest difference between English and French is in the oldest group.

Table 7.2

A G E

	<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 41</u>			<u>Over 50</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Satisfied	35.0	29.5	25.0	34.5	29.5	24.0	35.5	22.0	24.5	40.5	26.5	40.5
Dissatisfied	35.5	32.5	26.5	40.0	25.5	18.5	38.0	34.5	33.5	29.5	43.0	33.5
No opinion	28.0	34.5	22.0	24.5	43.0	31.0	25.5	43.0	26.0	30.0	29.0	22.0
No answer	1.5	3.5	26.5	1.0	2.0	26.5	1.0	0.5	16.0	-	1.5	4.0
N.	324	206	72	386	191	109	316	168	93	526	200	108
% Lang. Gp.	20.9	27.0	18.8	24.9	25.0	28.5	20.4	22.0	24.3	33.8	26.0	28.4

A serious difficulty presented by this question flows from its ambiguity. There is no way of knowing the direction of dissatisfaction. One could be dissatisfied with defence policy for diametrically opposed reasons. (Not enough - too much). Table 7.3 distributes the responses by region and shows that the rate of dissatisfaction is much higher in Alberta and British Columbia than in French-speaking Quebec. It is doubtful, however, that the reasons for the "dissatisfied" answers are similar.

Table 7.3

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Satisfied	39.0	27.5	0	51.5	27.0	34.5	37.5	26.0	27.0
Dissatisfied	36.0	31.0	100.0	39.5	33.0	38.5	30.5	43.0	27.5
No opinion	25.0	41.5	0	7.5	37.5	15.5	31.5	31.0	27.5
No answer	-	-	0	1.5	2.5	11.5	.5	0	18.0
N.	237	29	2	78	633	26	757	58	145
% Lang. Gp.	15.2	3.8	.5	5.0	82.9	6.7	48.5	7.6	37.8
	<u>Man/Sask.</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Satisfied	35.5	25.5	31.5	36.5	40.0	34.5	28.0	20.00	23.0
Dissatisfied	31.5	31.5	20.0	45.0	20.0	23.5	46.0	80.00	37.5
No opinion	30.0	43.0	39.5	16.0	40.0	17.0	25.5	0	14.5
No answer	3.0	0	9.0	2.5	0	25.0	.5	0	25.0
N.	169	35	89	118	5	64	193	5	56
% Lang. Gp.	10.8	4.6	23.1	7.6	.7	16.5	12.4	.7	14.4

In November 1962, a more precise question on defence policy was asked. It had to do with nuclear weapons for Canada's armed forces. The time factor is of particular importance here. The survey was taken against the background of the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the missile bases in Cuba. In Quebec people were preoccupied with a provincial election whose main focus was on economic policies. The issue of nuclear weapons for Canada had not yet become one for widespread public discussion. The results of the poll show a high degree of uniformity. The slightly larger percentage of French-speaking who favour nuclear weapons is offset by the larger proportion of "qualified" answers

Table 8.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

Q: Just from what you know or have heard, in your opinion should Canada's armed forces be armed with nuclear weapons or not?

		<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes, should be	-	54.0	59.0	44.5
No, should not be	-	30.0	33.0	37.0
Qualified	-	8.0	1.0	6.0
No opinion	-	8.0	7.0	12.5
N.	-	423	201	81

by English-speaking respondents. It is a reasonable assumption that a qualified response to this question tends towards the affirmative position. (Yes, but / if ...)

In the distribution of responses by age it was surprising to find that in the French group the younger respondents were significantly more receptive to the idea of nuclear arming than the older respondents.

Table 8.2A G E

	<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>Over 50</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes, should be	52.0	74.0	36.0	60.0	68.5	58.0	55.5	50.0	50.0	49.5	33.5	37.0
No, should not be	33.5	21.0	57.0	25.0	21.5	31.5	27.5	43.0	28.0	34.5	56.5	36.5
Qualified	6.0	0	0	4.5	1.5	10.5	10.0	0	5.5	9.5	2.5	6.5
No opinion	8.5	5.0	7.0	10.5	8.5	0	7.0	7.0	16.5	6.5	7.5	20.0
N.	83	58	14	105	60	19	110	44	18	125	39	30
% Lang. Gp.	19.6	28.8	17.3	24.8	29.8	23.4	26.0	21.9	22.2	29.5	19.4	37.0

When the same question on nuclear arms for Canada was asked in March 1963, it revealed a sharp change in French opinion. Defence policy had become one of the important issues in the federal election campaign. Mr. Pearson's Scarborough speech in January, advocating the acceptance of nuclear warheads for Bomarc missiles based in Canada, had disappointed many of the younger Liberals in Quebec. The French press was generally critical of the official Liberal position and public opinion shifted accordingly. The results are shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1

Q: Just from what you know, or have heard, in your opinion should Canada's armed forces be armed with nuclear weapons or not?

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	57.0	37.0	36.5	48.5
No	25.0	42.5	34.5	31.0
Qualified	4.5	1.0	3.5	3.5
No opinion	12.5	19.0	13.5	14.5
No answer	1.0	.5	12.0	2.5
No.	1137	552	306	1995

One of the apparent consequences of introducing the issue of nuclear arms into the election campaign was to create greater uncertainty in the minds of the public. The proportion of those who gave "no opinion" or refused to answer was double that of the November poll. In the French-speaking sample the greatest change from a "yes" to a "no" position occurred in the younger age groups.

Table 9.2

A G E

	<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>Over 50</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	61.0	42.5	44.5	62.5	33.0	34.0	62.0	37.5	34.5	47.5	35.5	35.0
No	28.5	42.0	18.5	20.5	45.0	35.0	18.5	39.5	32.5	30.0	42.5	45.0
Qualified	4.0	0	2.0	3.0	1.5	6.0	6.0	0	2.0	5.5	2.0	3.5
No opinion	6.0	15.5	18.5	12.0	20.5	13.5	12.5	23.0	15.5	16.5	18.5	9.0
No answer	.5	0	16.5	2.0	0	11.5	1.0	0	15.5	.5	1.5	7.5
No.	251	141	54	255	155	103	246	117	58	385	139	91
% Lang. Gp.	22.1	25.5	17.7	22.4	28.1	33.7	21.7	21.2	19.0	33.9	25.2	29.8

The shift in the attitudes of French respondents between November and March may be seen as a return to, rather than a departure from the historical pattern of French Canadian reluctance to become involved in international affairs. The issue of nuclear weapons for Canada was not simply one of domestic defence policy.

The degree of confusion over defence policies that had been generated by the election campaign shows up in the following table. No comment is necessary.

Table 10.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: Are you satisfied with the present Canadian defence policies or do you think there is need to take a new look at our defence policies?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Satisfied	16.5	16.0	9.5	15.5
Dissatisfied	10.5	15.5	12.0	12.0
No opinion	57.5	54.5	65.0	57.5
No answer	15.5	14.0	13.5	15.0
Number	1591	742	374	2707

A question on defence that was posed in February 1964, offered the respondent a number of alternatives. The results are interesting, if not unexpected.

Table 11.1 (CIPO - February 1964)

Q: Canada's defence policies are being argued about a good deal. Which of these statements comes closest to what you think Canada should do?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
U.S. should take responsibility	2.5	4.0	1.0	2.5
Canada should maintain own defence	16.0	18.0	20.5	17.0
Defence should be joint effort	72.5	55.5	65.0	67.0
Canada should disarm, become neutral	6.5	19.5	9.5	11.0
No answer	2.5	3.0	4.0	2.5
Number	411	200	83	694

While the majority in all the language groups support the official policy which tries to strike a balance between the second and third alternatives, the percentage of the French group is significantly lower than the others. What is striking of course, is the relatively large proportion of French respondents who opt for a neutralist policy. In the distribution of their answers by education and community size one finds that the highest incidence of "neutralism" is among the least educated and the residents of small communities. This suggests that it is not the sophisticated connotation

Table 11.2

<u>French respondents</u>	<u>Canada should disarm, become a neutral</u>
Towns, pop. less than 10,000 (30.5% of sample)	30.0
Cities, over 100,000 (44.0% of sample)	16.0
<hr/>	
Primary education only (51.5% of sample)	24%
Secondary education (41% of sample)	16.0%

of neutralism that is understood by the respondents but rather the implication that this is a way of keeping out of someone else's wars.

This point is substantiated by the answers to a question regarding Canada's role in the U.N. force on Cyprus. The issue of military (or quasi-military) involvement is posed in clear-cut terms. The greater reluctance of the French-speaking Canadian to become involved in this way is evident. The

Table 12.1 (CIPO - April 1964)

Q: Do you approve, as part of the U.N. force, of Canadian troops being sent to Cyprus or should we keep out of their affairs as much as possible?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
Yes - approve	62.0	41.5	49.5
Should keep out	25.0	44.0	36.0
No opinion	13.0	14.5	14.5
N	429	206	89

Table 12.2

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes approve	47.5	28.5	30.0	41.5	37.5	12.5	60.0	36.5	64.5
Should keep out	34.0	52.5	40.0	40.0	50.0	81.5	26.0	46.5	35.5
No opinion	18.5	19.0	30.0	12.5	12.5	6.0	14.0	17.0	0
N.	38	63	20	65	24	16	149	60	17
% Lang. Group	8.9	30.6	22.5	15.2	11	18.0	34.7	29.1	19.1
	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>					
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>			
Yes approve	67.0	58.0	70.5	82.5	64.5	58.5			
Should keep out	18.5	34.0	12.0	11.5	21.5	16.5			
No opinion	14.5	8.0	17.5	6.0	14.0	25.0			
N.	82	38	17	69	14	12			
% Lang. Group	19.1	18.4	19.1	16.1	6.8	13.5			

breakdown by education again shows that the highest proportion of those who say we "should keep out" is found in the least educated segment of the sample.

Evaluation

It was noted in the first chapter that the French-speaking Canadian showed a more positive orientation than did the other respondents towards the trade-union movement and its leadership. Yet, in the judgment of possible policies, or in response to questions that have policy implications for the labour movement, it will be seen that the French respondents were somewhat less favourable than the others towards, what might be termed, the "trade-union line". Before attempting to explain this apparent inconsistency it would be useful to examine the data.

Two questions related to striking were asked in succession in the survey of November 1962. Naturally, those with trade-union connections are considerably more emphatic in their support of the right to strike than those

Table 13.1 (CIPO - November 1962)
Union Membership

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should have	67.5	54.0	68.0	79.5	73.5	75.0	64.5	45.5	65.5
Should not have	24.5	37.5	27.0	14.5	20.5	20.0	27.0	45.0	29.5
No opinion	8.0	8.5	5.0	6.0	6.0	5.0	8.5	9.5	5.0
N.	423	201	81	83	64	20	340	137	61
% Lang. Gp.				19.6	31.8	24.7	80.4	68.2	75.3

without any union identification. In both of these categories, however, a higher proportion of French respondents expressed their opposition to the strike. The fact that there is a difference of only 6% between English and French among union members would not be very significant in itself. But it is reinforced by the difference of nearly 20% among non-union members. In the distribution of answers by education one notes that education is less of a factor in the attitudes of the French-speaking than of the English-speaking

Table 13.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>				<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>		<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should have	53.5	56.5	55.0		63.0	47.0	69.0
Should not have	41.5	37.5	42.0		27.0	44.0	15.5
No opinion	5.0	6.0	3.0		10.0	9.0	15.5
No.	41	67	31		70	32	13
% Lang. Gp.	9.7	33.3	38.3		16.5	15.9	16.0
	<u>Some Secondary</u>				<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>		<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should have	70.0	55.5	75.0		65.0	55.0	78.0
Should not have	21.5	32.5	19.0		25.5	45.0	22.0
No opinion	8.5	12.0	6.0		9.5	0	-
No.	157	65	16		74	29	9
% Lang. Gp.	37.1	32.3	19.7		17.5	14.4	11.1

sample. It should also be noted that there is a disproportionately higher ratio of union membership in the French group, which suggests that the differences between the totals might be even greater than the 13% that shows up.

To some extent the French attitude towards the right to strike may be seen as conditioned by the experience of labour relations in Quebec. Between 1944 and 1964 there was legislation that denied the right to strike to many categories of employees performing public services (teachers, transport, utilities, etc.) It was probably more natural for the French respondent, therefore, to accept the idea of a general limitation on striking than it might have been for his English counterpart. A second factor may be touched on here. It is based on the generalization that the French-speaking Canadians are more likely to have an organic view of society and community than are those whose background is English. They are, therefore, more amenable to the state assuming an active regulatory role within it. It follows readily from such a position that the claims of particular interests (e.g. right to strike) may be regarded as contingent on the prior claims of the whole community.

The subsequent question that was asked in the same poll was a more general one.

Table 14.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

Q: Some people feel that the strike has outlived its usefulness as a means by which workers can press for their demands. Others do not agree. What is your opinion?

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Strike has outlived usefulness	39.0	38.0	37.0	18.0	23.5	20.0	44.0	44.5	42.5
No strike has not	43.0	49.0	45.5	66.0	65.5	60.0	37.5	41.0	41.0
Qualified	10.0	2.0	7.5	11.0	3.0	0	10.0	1.5	10.0
Undecided	8.0	11.0	10.0	5.0	8.0	20.0	8.5	13.0	6.5
N.	423	201	81	83	64	20	340	137	61
% Lang. Group				19.6	31.8	24.7	80.4	68.2	75.3

At first sight, the table does not appear to be particularly interesting from the point of view of this study since it shows that there is little difference in the opinions of the various language groups. It seems, however, to be a very useful further illustration of the generalization about the rationalism of the French as opposed to the pragmatism of the English. For, compared with the answers to the previous question (same sample) one notes the consistency of the French respondents and the inconsistency of the English. Many of the English

Table 14.2

	<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Those who say workers should not have right to strike	14.5	20.5	20.0	27.0	45.0	29.5	24.5	37.5	27.0
Those who say strike has outlived its usefulness (table 14.1)	18.0	23.5	20.0	44.0	44.5	42.5	39.0	38.0	37.0

respondents seem to be saying that although the strike has outlived its usefulness it does not necessarily follow that workers should not have the right to strike. Another point to be noted is the relatively large proportion of those in the English group who give a qualified answer.

A question about the desirability of freezing prices and wages yields rather inconclusive results except that it shows a larger proportion of non-union French opting for government action. It is a complex question because it places the respondent in a field of cross pressures. The data are presented without further comment.

Table 15.1 (CIPO - September 1962)

Q: It has been suggested that BOTH prices AND wages should be "frozen" - that is, kept from going any higher. This means that wages couldn't go up and prices couldn't go up. Would you favour or oppose this?

	<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>			<u>T O T A L S</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Favour	50.0	47.5	63.0	44.5	51.5	58.0	45.0	50.5	59.5
Oppose	33.5	45.5	22.0	44.0	37.0	23.5	40.5	39.0	23.0
Qualified	5.5	0	7.5	3.0	1.0	4.5	3.5	1.0	5.5
No opinion	11.0	7.0	7.5	8.5	10.5	14.0	9.0	9.5	12.0
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	-	-
N.	92	55	27	308	144	64	408	199	91
% Lang. Gp.	22.5	27.6	29.7	77.5	72.4	70.3			

The phenomenon of a person's identification with, and sense of obligation towards his civic society (polity) has been referred to in the first chapter. It offers a fruitful area for exploring and comparing ethnic orientations. A good index of civic obligation (civism) may be found in a group's attitude towards taxes. No one likes or wants to pay taxes, but there may be varying assessments of their fairness or utility. One could argue that there must be a greater sense of civisme among those who feel that taxes are reasonable than among those who do not. The data in the following tables on attitudes towards income taxes are complicated by the factor of Canadian federalism. The French-speaking respondent who thinks taxes are too high might not be objecting to the taxes in themselves but to the fact that too large a share is going to the Federal government. This difficulty is attenuated, however, if we do not draw conclusions about civisme in general but regard the data as evidence of civisme with respect to the federal polity of Canada.

Table 16.1 (CIPO - June 1962)

Q: Do you consider the amount of Federal income tax which you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>T O T A L</u>
Too high	39.0	58.5	38.0	45.0
About right	50.0	31.0	32.5	41.0
Too low	.5	0	.5	.5
No opinion	9.5	8.5	11.5	9.5
No answer	1.0	2.0	17.5	4.0
	708	411	231	1350

The pattern of responses is clear cut. Whether the demographic variables are region, or occupation, or education, (Table 16.2) a significantly larger proportion of French-speaking respondents say that the taxes are too high. One might reasonably expect that those who are in the higher tax brackets would be most unhappy with the tax rates. This is not borne out here (nor for that matter in other surveys) since all the statistics of income distribution show that the English-speaking group as a whole enjoys a higher income and must therefore be paying higher taxes than the French-speaking community.

Table 16.2

Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Too high	36.5	56.5	29.5	41.5	57.0	36.5	40.5	53.0	53.5
About right	44.5	31.0	28.0	46.5	36.5	40.0	50.0	34.5	27.0
Too low	0	0	1.5	1.0	0	0	.5	0	0
No opinion	17.0	11.0	16.5	9.5	4.0	18.0	8.5	10.0	5.5
No answer	2.0	1.5	24.5	1.5	2.5	5.5	.5	2.5	14.0
No.	88	164	61	133	77	55	249	81	56
% Lang. Gp.	12.4	39.9	26.4	18.8	18.7	23.8	35.1	19.7	24.2

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>	
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>
Too high	38.5	66.0	33.5	31.0	70.0
About right	52.0	27.0	40.5	58.5	15.0
Too low	0	0	0	1.5	0
No opinion	9.0	7.0	0	7.5	0
No answer	.5	0	26.0	1.5	15.0
No.	143	59	27	65	20
% Lang. Gp.	20.2	14.3	11.7	9.3	4.8

A similar question on income taxes was asked in January 1965. This time the specific reference to the Federal government was omitted. The result for the French respondents was about the same as 1962. The proportion of those in the English sample that considered the income taxes too high had risen by 7%. It would be difficult to account for this rise, but it is fortunately

Table 17.1 (CIPO - January 1965)

Q: Do you think present income taxes in Canada are too high or about right?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Too high	45.0	55.5	55.5	48.5
Too low	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0
About right	42.0	31.5	34.0	38.5
No opinion	4.5	5.0	4.0	5.0
Don't pay tax	7.5	7.0	5.0	7.0
N.	462	188	79	729

not necessary to do so for the present purpose. The relevant point is that a significant difference still shows up between English and French perceptions of their tax obligations.

In August 1963 respondents were asked: The Government claims more money has to be raised in taxes. What sort of taxes would you prefer to see increased? There was agreement in the ranking of the three most popular answers, but the proportions were quite different for the first two.

Table 18.1 (CIPO - August 1963)

Q: What sort of taxes would you prefer to see increased?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
N -	(435)	(202)	(75)
Luxury Taxes	44.0	66.5	26.5
Corporation Tax	15.5	7.5	24.0
Liquor Taxes	6.5	7.0	2.5

The question of Canadian wheat sales to China and other Communist countries was raised in November 1962 and elicited generally uniform responses from all the language groups. In the distribution by regions one notes a pretty clear correlation between economic interest and approval.

Table 19.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

Q: Do you approve or disapprove of Canadian sales of food, wheat and products other than war materials to Communist countries such as Red China, Cuba or Poland?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
Approve	65.0	60.0	55.5
Disapprove	26.5	25.0	27.0
Qualified	4.5	4.0	4.0
No opinion	4.0	11.5	13.5
N.	423	201	81

The over all response suggests that economic calculation was the major factor in evaluating this policy.

Table 19.2 (Region)

	<u>Atlantic Prov.</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Approve	58.5	50.0	0	75.0	59.0	0	62.0	70.0	56.0
Disapprove	31.0	16.5	0	25.0	26.5	57.0	29.5	20.0	32.0
Qualified	3.0	16.5	0	0	4.0	0	4.5	0	4.0
No opinion	7.5	17.0	100.0	0	10.5	43.0	4.0	10.0	8.0
N	65	6	1	16	170	7	207	20	20
% Lang. Gp.	15.4	3.0	1.2	3.8	84.6	8.6	48.9	9.9	30.9

	<u>Man/Sask</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Approve	69.5	0	48.0	70.5	100.0	72.5	73.0	100.0	85.5
Disapprove	24.0	0	26.0	24.5	0	27.5	15.5	0	7.5
Qualified	6.5	0	4.5	2.5	0	0	7.5	0	7.0
No opinion	0	100.0	21.5	2.5	0	0	4.0	0	0
N	46	1	23	37	2	11	52	2	14
% Lang. Gp.	10.9	.5	28.4	8.7	1.0	13.5	12.3	1.0	17.3

Several "policy" questions were raised in the Gallup poll of June 1963.

They are presented here in the order in which they were posed. The first had to do with provincial lotteries. There is a small difference between English and French respondents in the proportions of those who favour lotteries, but the difference

Table 20.1 (CIPO - June 1963)

Q: Would you favour or oppose the Government of this Province running big sweepstakes or lotteries to help pay for education and public health?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Favour	71.0	79.0	69.5	73.0
Oppose	23.0	9.0	25.0	19.5
No opinion	6.0	12.0	5.5	7.5
N.	405	193	89	687

proves to be quite significant when the expressions of outright opposition are taken into account. To some extent the difference may be due to religious factors as the breakdown into Protestant and Catholic responses indicates.

(English Protestants 71.5% in favour; English Catholics 77% in favour). The strongest opposition is expressed in the prairie provinces with the Atlantic provinces not far behind.

The question of allowing Bingo games produced a very intriguing set of answers from the point of view of cultural orientation. The important difference here is not between those who would and those who would not allow Bingo games, but between those who would allow all games and those who need the justification of charitable purpose. A much larger proportion of English-speaking respondents seem to need such a justification. The distribution by

Table 21.1

Q: Do you think the Government should allow all bingo games, allow them for church and charitable purposes only, or should they not allow them at all?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Protestant</u>			<u>Catholic</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
All games	33.5	49.0	45.0	31.5	0	45.5	48.0	49.5	49.5
Church, charitable	40.5	23.5	27.0	41.0	50.0	27.0	45.0	23.5	22.5
Qualified	6.0	5.0	3.5	6.5	0	2.5	3.5	5.5	3.0
Not allow any	18.0	21.5	23.5	19.0	50.0	23.0	3.5	20.5	26.0
No opinion	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0	2.0	0	1.0	0
N	405	193	89	334	2	44	56	187	31
% Lang. Group				82.2	1.0	49.4	13.8	96.9	34.8

religion suggests that while the English-speaking Catholic is more ready than the Protestant to allow all Bingo games, he is also more inclined than the French-speaking Catholic to use "charitable purpose" as a rationalization. The result is that the lowest incidence of clear-cut opposition is found in this group. It might be of passing interest to note that the greatest propensity to rationalize Bingo games was found among the English-speaking respondents of the Province of Ontario.

Table 21.2

English-speaking respondents who would allow Bingo games for church and charitable purposes only.

Atlantic Provinces	-	25.5
Quebec	-	30.0
Ontario	-	51.5
Manitoba/Sask.	-	21.5
Alberta	-	33.5
B.C.	-	39.5

A rather complicated question about the possible consequences of a free-trade policy between Canada and the United States is presented here not only because it points up interesting differences but because it also provides additional evidence that the French Canadian is less concerned than the English Canadian about the impact of the United States on Canada. The breakdown by Union membership suggests that the English-speaking worker is particularly worried about the possible effects of free trade on Canadian employment.

Table 22.1 (CIPO - June 1963)

Q: Do you think Canada would be better off or worse off if U.S. goods were allowed in here free, without tariff or customs charges, and Canadian goods allowed into the U.S. free?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Union members in family</u>			<u>No union members in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Better	46.5	51.0	64.0	41.0	50.0	53.5	47.5	51.0	69.5
Worse	37.0	24.5	19.0	41.0	25.0	33.5	36.0	24.0	12.0
No opinion	16.5	24.5	17.0	18.0	25.0	13.0	16.5	25.0	18.5
N.	405	193	89	71	52	30	334	141	59
% Lang. Gp.				17.5	26.9	33.5	82.5	73.1	66.5

In evaluating the federal government's handling of unemployment French-speaking respondents are somewhat more critical than the English. This is probably due, in part, to the fact that unemployment is a particularly serious problem in some parts of Quebec. Another reason that may be suggested, very tentatively, is that by 1963, most French Canadians were looking increas-

Table 23.1 (CIPO - June 1963)

Q: In general, do you think the Federal Government is doing a good job in handling the unemployment problem?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Union member in family</u>			<u>No union member in family</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Good job	28.0	18.5	18.0	25.5	13.5	16.5	28.5	20.5	18.5
Fair job	26.5	30.0	31.5	31.0	25.0	27.0	25.5	32.0	34.0
Not good job	30.0	37.5	21.5	32.5	46.0	20.0	29.5	34.0	22.0
Undecided	15.5	14.0	29.0	11.0	15.5	36.5	16.5	13.5	25.5
N	405	193	89	71	52	30	334	141	59
% Lang. Gp.				17.5	26.9	33.5	82.5	73.1	66.5

ingly to the state for active and large-scale intervention in the economy and many therefore found the federal government too irresolute. Not unexpectedly, the sharpest criticism comes from those with a trade-union identification, but the distribution by socio-economic status (average and average plus) provides support for the tentative suggestion made above.

Table 23.2 (Socio Economic Status)

	<u>Wealthy</u>			<u>Average Plus</u>			<u>Average</u>			<u>Poor</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Good job	35.5	20.0	0	24.5	12.5	11.0	29.0	17.5	22.5	28.0	31.5	6.0
Fair job	14.5	20.0	0	31.5	33.5	11.0	26.5	29.0	34.0	19.0	31.0	35.5
Not a good job	28.5	50.0	100.0	23.0	43.5	44.5	30.5	34.0	19.5	43.5	34.5	11.5
Undecided	21.5	10.0	0	21.0	10.5	33.5	14.0	19.5	24.0	9.5	3.0	47.0
No	14	10	1	101	48	9	237	103	62	53	32	17
% Lang. Gp.	3.4	5.2	1.1	24.8	24.9	10.1	58.3	53.3	69.6	13.0	16.6	19.1

A question about government treatment of farmers produced a very sharp difference between English and French opinion. To some extent, the phrasing of the question might have biased the responses. By placing the onus on the central

Table 24.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Generally speaking, do you think the farmers of this province are getting a square deal from the Canadian government?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	51.5	26.5	47.0	44.5
No	25.0	45.5	20.0	29.5
Undecided	23.5	28.0	33.0	26.0
N	428	186	94	708

government it is possible that the question evoked from French-speaking respondents a generalized criticism of the federal government rather than an evaluation

of a particular policy. The more important reason for the difference, however, must stem from the marginal and precarious nature of Quebec's farm economy. This point is borne out when Quebec opinion is compared with that in the Atlantic provinces where farmers face similar problems.

Table 24.2

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	26.0	0	66.5	18.0	25.0	36.5	54.5	54.5	42.0
No	43.0	91.0	33.5	36.5	45.5	36.5	24.0	18.0	20.0
Undecided	31.0	9.0		45.5	29.5	27.0	21.5	27.5	38.0
N	58	11	3	22	156	11	199	11	45
% Lang. Gp.	13.5	5.9	3.1	5.1	83.9	11.7	46.5	5.9	47.9
	<u>Man/Sask.</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes	76.0	50.0	69.0	64.0	100.0	72.5	51.0	0	0
No	16.5	33.5	0	25.0	0	27.5	13.5	0	25.0
Undecided	7.5	16.5	31.0	11.0	0	0	35.5	100.0	75.0
N	54	6	16	36	1	11	59	1	8
% Lang. Gp.	12.6	3.2	17.0	8.4	.5	11.7	13.8	.5	8.5

When a question is phrased in terms of federal-provincial roles it is not surprising to find that the French-speaking Quebecker strongly favours his provincial government. This would be particularly evident on issues that

Table 25.1 (CIPO - April 1964)

Q: In a Canada portable pension plan, who do you think should run it - the Federal Government in Ottawa or the government of this Province?

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Federal Government	63.0	24.0	64.0	57.5	44.5	0
Provincial Government	21.5	57.5	19.0	18.0	22.0	-
No opinion	15.5	18.5	17.0	24.5	33.5	-
N	427	206	89	61	9	-
% Lang. Group				14.2	4.4	
	<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Federal Government	55.0	18.5	87.5	56.0	58.0	65.0
Provincial Government	30.0	63.5	12.5	27.0	21.0	20.0
No opinion	15.5	18.0	0	17.0	21.0	15.0
N	20	174	8	197	19	40
% Lang. Group	4.7	84.5	9.0	45.9	9.3	44.9

Table 25.1 (continued)

	<u>Man/Sask</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Fed. Gov't.	75.5	75.0	70.5	69.5	-	33.5	80.5	-	66.5
Prov. Gov't.	12.5	25.0	17.5	22.0	-	25.0	12.5	-	17.0
No opinion	12.0	0	12.0	8.5	-	41.5	7.0	-	16.5
N	57	4	17	36	-	12	56	-	12
% Lang. Gp.	13.5	1.9	19.1	8.4		13.5	13.3		13.5

have been widely discussed. One would have been hard pressed in the Spring of 1964, to find a single French-speaking public figure or journalist favouring a federally-administered portable pension scheme. It is surprising, therefore, to find that only 64% of the Quebec French sample positively favoured a provincial plan.

Popular interest in the relationship between money and politics normally runs high. Because most people suspect that those who contribute political funds expect to receive something in return there is likely to be strong support for legislation to compel the publication of sources of party funds. The difficulties of administering such a policy are not usually appreciated.

Table 26.1 (CIPO - April 1964)

Q: Do you think that political parties should or should not publish details of their political funds - that is, make public the sources from which they get their money?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Should	74.5	86.5	81.0	79.0
Should not	17.0	11.5	10.0	14.5
Qualified	1.5	0	0	1.0
No opinion	7.0	2.0	9.0	5.5
N.	427	206	89	722

The special sensitivity of French-speaking Canadians on this issue is certainly related to more immediate experience. The exposure of corrupt practices under the Union Nationale regime and the reforming zeal of the present Liberal government lead to high expectations that some action to regulate political funds will be taken. A breakdown by regions shows that English opinion in this question is quite uniform.

Table 26.2 (CIPO - April 1964)

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should publish	74.0	78.0	-	90.0	86.5	87.5	71.0	94.5	77.5
Should not publish	19.5	11.0	-	0	12.0	12.5	20.0	5.5	15.0
Qualified	0	0	-	0	0	0	2.5	0	0
No opinion	6.5	11.0	-	10.0	1.5	0	6.5	0	7.5
N.	61	9		20	174	8	197	19	40
% Lang. Group	14.7	4.4		4.7	84.5	9.0	45.9	9.2	44.9
	<u>Man/Sask</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Should publish	79.0	75.0	94.0	83.5		83.5	73.0		66.5
Should not publish	10.5	25.0	0	8.5		16.5	21.5		0
Qualified	1.5	0	0	0		0	0		0
No opinion	9.0	0	6.0	8.0		0	5.5		33.5
N.	57	4	17	36		12	56		12
% Lang. Group	13.5	1.9	19.1	8.4		13.5	13.3		13.5

Chapter Three

The International Environment

This chapter will deal with the orientations of Canadians towards other political systems, both in themselves and in their relations with each other. We will be looking for differences in the perceptions of some aspects of the extra-societal environment. There were not very many questions in this area and no attempt will be made to classify them under the categories of cognition, feeling and evaluation. They will be grouped, instead, as perceptions of the United States as a world power, relations between the great powers, disarmament and the prospects of war and peace.

In the earlier chapters the questions about the United States referred to that country's influence and impact on Canada, and on Canadian reactions to the American fact. It was seen that French-speaking respondents were, on the whole, less worried than the other respondents by the extent of American influence in Canada. They were also more inclined to favour policies of even closer integration between the two countries. This tendency finds reinforcement in the more positive view of the United States as a world power that is held by French Canadians.

The contest between the United States and the Soviet Union to land a man on the moon now seems to be a very close one. But in 1962, the objective evidence of Soviet missile superiority gave little ground for the belief or hope

that the Americans could overcome this lead. Yet, in reply to a question about the race to the moon a significantly larger proportion of French-speaking respondents favoured the United States. The table shows that education does not account for the difference.

Table 1.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

Education

Q: Which country, the United States or Russia, do you think will be first to send a man to the moon?

	<u>T O T A L S</u>			<u>Some Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
U.S. first	30.0	43.0	38.5	24.5	43.0	45.0
Russia first	50.5	34.0	38.5	46.5	33.0	26.0
Both even	4.5	7.0	6.0	7.0	7.5	6.5
No opinion	15.0	16.0	17.0	22.0	16.5	15.5
N.	423	201	81	41	67	31
% Lang. Group				9.7	33.3	39.2

	<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
U.S. first	38.5	53.0	31.0	31.5	38.5	43.5	24.5	41.5	55.5
Russia first	41.5	22.0	38.5	47.0	34.0	37.5	65.0	45.0	44.5
Both even	4.5	6.5	0	5.5	6.0	6.5	2.5	10.0	0
No opinion	15.5	18.5	30.5	16.0	21.5	12.5	8.0	3.5	0
N.	70	32	13	157	65	16	74	29	9
% Lang. Group	16.5	15.9	16.0	37.0	32.3	19.7	17.5	14.4	11.1

A couple of months later respondents were asked to assess the progress of American prestige. The poll was taken after the completion of

Table 2.1 (CIPO - January 1963)
(A G E)

Q: In the last year, would you say the prestige of the United States has increased or decreased in this country?

	<u>T O T A L</u>			<u>21 - 29</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Increased	52.5	62.5	51.5	60.0	63.0	48.0
Decreased	26.0	10.5	17.0	15.5	17.5	4.5
About same	16.0	20.5	23.5	19.0	13.0	34.5
Can't say	5.5	6.5	8.0	5.5	6.5	13.0
N.	459	191	99	85	62	23
% Lang. Group				18.5	32.5	23.2

	<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Increased	55.5	60.5	43.5	51.0	67.5	62.0	47.5	57.0	56.5
Decreased	24.0	8.5	25.0	32.5	0	9.5	28.5	14.5	26.0
About Same	15.0	24.0	22.0	14.5	23.0	24.0	16.0	25.0	13.0
Can't say	5.5	7.0	9.5	2.0	9.5	4.5	8.0	3.5	4.5
N.	113	58	32	110	43	21	151	28	23
% Lang. Group	24.6	30.4	32.3	23.4	22.5	21.2	32.9	14.7	23.2

the second full year of the Kennedy administration, a year that had come to a climax in the Cuban crisis. The difference between English and French is particularly marked among those who considered that Americans had lost prestige. In the distribution by age it may be noted that the youngest English-speaking group most closely approaches the assessment made by the French group as a whole.

From the perspective of 1965, it would seem that the French assessments in 1962-63 were more valid than the English ones. The question that might be raised is whether this was mere coincidence or whether it was due to a more objective appraisal of the facts. There is little doubt that English-speaking Canadians have a stronger subjective identification with Americans than do their French compatriots and that this must influence their perceptions of the United States. It may be argued that in giving a negative evaluation of American prestige or her space achievements, the respondent is expressing personal disappointment rather than making a rational judgment. This argument suggests that one might find a high incidence of negative appraisal precisely in those regions where there is a strong sense of identification with the United States. The breakdown of responses by region seems to confirm this hypothesis.

Table 1/2.2

Percentage of English-speaking respondents by region who say:

	a) <u>U.S. will get man to the moon first</u>	b) <u>U.S. prestige has decreased</u>
Atlantic Provinces	26.0	15.5
Ontario	34.5	26.0
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	30.5	18.0
Alberta	19.0	30.5
British Columbia	23.0	37.0

If subjective identification with the U.S.A. tends to make one more pessimistic or more critical of its image because of higher expectations, it might, on the other hand, make one more inclined to approve specific American policies. Evaluating a policy is not the same as expressing an opinion about a nation's prestige. Thus a question on the American policy of nuclear testing in mid-1962 finds the English-speaking respondents more approving than the French. The wonder is that the difference of opinion is not much sharper when account is taken of the traditional French Canadian caution when it comes to policies that imply possible military outcomes and involvements.

Table 3.1 (CIPO - June 1962)

Q: Do you think the United States should stop atomic bomb tests or do you feel those tests should be continued?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Should stop	40.5	55.5	44.5	45.5
Should continue	45.0	27.5	24.5	37.5
No opinion	13.5	15.0	13.5	13.5
No answer	1.0	2.0	17.5	3.5
N.	1552	765	382	2669

A number of questions on China, the U.S.S.R. and the possibilities of peaceful coexistence do not yield very conclusive evidence of difference in the perceptions of English-speaking and French-speaking respondents. Where significant differences do show up they seem to be traceable to differences in interest and cognition. If a generalization may be ventured at this point it is that French Canadians seem to have less interest in, and knowledge of international affairs than members of the other language groups.

In replies to a question on whether China had a seat in the United Nations the proportion of correct answers in the English sample was double that of the French. The relationship is reversed in the proportions of the "don't knows".

7-

Table 4.1 (CIPO - August 1963)

Q: Do you happen to know whether Communist China has or has not a seat in the U.N.?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>T O T A L</u>
Has a seat	7.0	10.0	6.5	8.0
Has not	63.5	31.5	42.5	52.5
Don't know	29.5	58.5	51.0	39.5
N.	435	202	75	712

Disparities in educational level can explain only a small part of the difference.

Table 4.2Education

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Has a seat	2.5	12.0	6.0	4.5	25.0	0
Has not	38.5	18.5	23.5	59.0	25.0	38.5
Don't know	59.0	69.5	70.5	36.5	50.0	61.5
N.	39	82	17	85	12	13
% Lang. Group	8.9	40.6	22.7	19.5	5.9	17.3

Table 4.2 (continued)

	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Has a seat	8.5	6.0	0	10.5	9.5	7.5
Has not	58.5	36.5	43.5	72.5	51.5	46.5
Don't know	33.0	57.5	56.5	17.0	39.0	46.0
N.	152	66	16	77	31	13
% Lang. Group	34.8	32.7	21.3	17.6	15.3	17.3

In November 1962 three questions on war and peace were asked in succession!

Table 5.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

Q: Do you think it is possible or impossible to reach a peaceful settlement of differences with Russia?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Possible	69.0	64.0	57.0	66.0
Not possible	24.0	19.0	32.0	23.5
No opinion	7.0	17.0	11.0	10.5
N.	423	201	81	705

Table 6.1 (CIPO - November 1962)

(A G E)

Q: How worried are you about the chance of a nuclear world war breaking out?

	<u>TOTALS</u>			<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Very worried	6.5	16.5	20.0	6.0	15.5	21.5	9.5	13.5	26.5
Fairly worried	31.0	37.5	27.0	36.0	31.0	35.5	29.5	45.0	21.0
Not worried at all	61.5	45.5	53.0	58.0	53.5	43.0	60.0	41.5	52.5
No opinion	1.0	.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0	0
N.	423	201	81	83	58	14	105	60	19
% Lang. Group				19.6	28.8	17.3	24.8	29.8	23.4

	<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Very worried	6.5	13.5	11.0	5.0	26.0	20.0
Fairly worried	38.0	43.5	16.5	23.0	28.0	33.5
Not worried at all	54.5	43.0	72.5	71.0	43.5	46.5
No opinion	1.0	0	0	1.0	2.5	0
N.	110	44	18	125	39	30
% Lang. Group	26.0	21.9	22.2	29.5	19.4	37.0

Table 7.1 (CIPO - November 1962)
(A G E)

Q: There have been discussions about all nations reducing their armaments. Of course everybody hopes it would - - but do you think such an agreement would work or not?

	<u>T O T A L</u>			<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Would work	37.5	46.5	40.5	38.5	46.5	21.5	33.5	43.5	31.5
Would not work	46.5	48.0	33.5	42.0	48.5	43.0	50.5	51.5	47.5
Qualified	10.5	1.0	12.5	11.0	0	21.5	13.5	1.5	5.5
No opinion	5.5	4.5	13.5	8.5	5.0	14.0	2.5	3.5	15.5
N.	423	201	81	83	58	14	105	60	19
% Lang. Group				19.6	28.8	17.3	24.8	29.8	23.4

	<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Would work	43.5	43.0	33.5	35.5	56.5	60.0
Would not work	40.0	50.0	33.5	51.0	38.5	20.0
Qualified	9.0	2.5	16.5	9.5	0	10.0
No opinion	7.5	4.5	16.5	4.0	5.0	10.0
N.	110	44	18	125	39	30
% Lang. Group	26.0	21.9	22.2	29.5	19.4	37.0

There is a substantial degree of agreement in the answers to the questions on peace with Russia and disarmament. The differences that appear in Table 7.1 among those who say a disarmament agreement would work are largely balanced by those who give a "qualified" answer (English and Other). A significant difference shows up, however, in concern about the chances of nuclear war. It is part of a consistent pattern which shows French-speaking Canadians to be more worried and more pessimistic about war and military involvement.

One might also argue, by comparing Tables 6.1 and 7.1, that there is a greater logical consistency in the French position. Of the French respondents 45.5% are not worried at all about nuclear war and 46.5% believe that a disarmament agreement would work. On the other hand, 61.5% of the English respondents are not worried at all about nuclear war yet only 37.5% believe categorically that disarmament would work.

Further evidence of greater logical consistency in French responses (or, to put it another way, of the difference between rationalistic and pragmatic modes of responding to questions about human affairs) may be found in the poll of August 1963. Respondents were asked first, to evaluate the sincerity of Soviet statements of peaceful intent, and then to express an opinion about the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the U.S.S.R. There

Table 8.1

Q: Russian radio often claims that Russia wants to end the cold war and seeks only peace. Do you feel that this is sincere or do you think it is only propaganda?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Sincere	25.5	23.0	22.5	24.5
Propaganda	56.0	52.0	62.5	55.5
Qualified	6.0	1.5	1.5	4.0
Don't know	12.5	23.5	13.5	16.0
N.	435	202	75	712

was general agreement on the first question and a significant reversal on the second. Whereas only 25.5% of the English-speaking sample thought the

Table 9.1 (CIPO - August 1963)

Q: Do you think the Western countries can continue to live peacefully with the Russians or do you think there is bound to be a major war sooner or later with the Russians?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Can live peacefully	54.5	31.0	54.5	48.0
Bound to be war	28.0	39.5	30.5	31.5
Qualified	5.5	1.5	5.5	4.5
Can't say	12.0	28.0	9.5	16.0
N.	435	202	75	712

Russian statements to be sincere, 54.5% thought that peaceful coexistence with Russia was possible. The corresponding figures for the French sample were 23.0% and 31.0%. They imply that one cannot, at the same time, be skeptical of Russian peace talk and optimistic about peaceful coexistence. A breakdown of Table 9 by education shows that it is a partial factor in the larger proportion of French respondents who have no opinion. There is a correlation between optimism about coexistence and education in the English sample but not in the French.

Table 9.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Can live peacefully	41.0	25.5	29.5	47.0	41.5	46.0
Bound to be war	25.5	45.0	53.0	32.0	33.5	31.0
Qualified	5.0	0	6.0	9.5	0	0
Can't say	28.5	29.5	11.5	11.5	25.0	23.0
N.	39	82	17	85	12	13
% Lang. Group	8.9	40.6	22.7	19.5	5.9	17.3
	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Can live peacefully	52.5	32.0	75.0	57.0	29.0	54.0
Bound to be war	29.5	33.5	18.5	28.5	45.0	23.0
Qualified	6.5	1.5	6.5	2.5	3.5	7.5
Can't say	11.5	33.0	0	12.0	22.5	15.5
N.	152	66	16	77	31	13
% Lang. Group	34.8	32.7	21.3	17.6	15.3	17.3

14-

A question on peaceful coexistence appeared again the survey of November 1964. Both English and French respondents expressed greater

Table 10.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: Do you think the Western countries can continue to live peacefully with the Russians or do you think there is bound to be a major war, sooner or later, with the Russians?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Can live peacefully	67.0	43.0	72.0	61.0
Will be war	23.5	28.5	17.0	24.0
Undecided	9.5	28.5	11.0	15.0
N.	437	193	89	719

optimism than in 1963, but the difference between them remained the same. The correlation between education and greater optimism appears now also in the French sample. However, the large number of French "undecideds" cannot be attributed to education alone. It would seem to indicate a greater lack of interest in the issue.

Table 10.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Can live peacefully	61.0	33.0	70.0	56.5	38.0	47.0
Will be war	33.5	33.0	15.0	29.0	47.5	35.5
Undecided	5.5	34.0	15.0	14.5	14.5	17.5
N.	36	76	20	69	21	17
% Lang. Group	8.2	39.4	22.5	15.8	10.9	19.1

	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Can live peacefully	66.0	48.5	81.0	74.0	63.5	91.5	80.5	37.5	75.0
Will be war	25.0	25.0	9.5	16.5	13.5	8.5	13.5	12.5	12.5
Undecided	9.0	26.5	9.5	9.5	23.0	0	6.0	50.0	12.5
N.	152	60	21	84	22	12	67	8	8
% Lang. Gp.	34.8	31.1	23.6	19.2	11.4	13.5	15.3	4.1	9.0

Returning for a moment to the question of November 1962 (Table 5.1) about the possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement with Russia, one is struck by the much larger percentage of optimism among French respondents in that poll than in the subsequent polls (Tables 9 and 10). The English responses in all three polls were quite consistent. The apparent inconsistency

in French responses might be attributed to sampling error or to the fact that French Canadians were particularly impressed by the peaceful outcome of the Cuban crisis in October 1962. A third, albeit speculative reason, might also be suggested. It has to do with differences in sensitivity to shades of meaning conveyed by language. In November 1962 the question referred to the possibility of a peaceful settlement (Pensez-vous qu'il soit possible ou impossible d'obtenir un reglement pacifique des differends qui nous oppose a la Russie?) In August 1963 and November 1964 the questions the questions seemed to ask for judgments of probability: Do you think the Western countries can continue to live peacefully with the Russians? (Croyez-vous que les pays occidentaux peuvent continuer a vivre en paix avec les Russes ou pensez-vous que tot ou tard, une grande guerre sera declaree avec les Russes?) One could argue that in its everyday use English tends to be less precise than French and that English respondents were therefore less apt to make the distinction between possibility and probability than were French respondents. This might account for the apparent consistency of the English opinions on this issue and the sharp change in French opinions when the question was phrased in terms of probability rather than possibility. It is often noted that those whose mother tongue is French are particularly proud

of the precision and logical elegance of their language.

Several questions on the perception of Communist China as a world power yield rather inconclusive evidence of differences. In January 1963, French-speaking respondents considered Russia a greater threat to world peace than China.

Table 11.1 (CIPO - January 1963)

Q: Which do you think today is the greater threat to world peace - Russia or China, or don't you think either is a threat right now?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Russia is greater threat	24.0	39.5	23.5	28.0
China is a greater threat	38.5	14.5	33.5	32.0
Both are the same	15.5	25.0	19.0	18.5
Neither is a threat	18.0	13.5	17.0	16.5
Other country is threat	1.5	.5	1.0	1.0
Can't say	2.5	7.0	6.0	4.0
N.	459	191	99	749

A year and half later the question of which country was the greater threat to peace was projected into the future and the answers by language group were quite uniform. (If some weight is given to the "no opinions.") The larger proportion of "no opinions" in all groups occurs in the

Table 12.1 (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: Looking ahead to 1970, which country do you think will be the greater threat to world peace - Russia or Communist China?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Red China will be	67.0	59.5	48.0	62.0
Russia will be	18.5	20.5	17.0	19.0
Other	1.5	0	2.0	1.0
No opinion	13.0	20.0	33.0	18.0
N.	415	198	112	725

lower educational categories. It could be argued again with respect to the above questions that the French are more sensitive than the English to the nuances of language. In the context of 1963 it seemed unlikely that a relatively weak China could be a greater threat to world peace than the powerful Soviet Union. But looking ahead to 1970 when China would probably possess a nuclear arsenal of its own, it was not unreasonable to suppose that China might be the greater "threat". It would seem that French respondents were more aware of this distinction than their English-speaking counterparts.

The pragmatism and, perhaps, greater sophistication of English respondents in matters of international relations shows up on the issue of

Table 13.1 (CIPO - February 1964)

Q: Do you think Canada should or should not recognize the Communist government in China, that is, appoint an ambassador to China, and have dealings with that government?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes, should recognize	58.0	39.0	43.5	51.0
No, should not recognize	29.0	42.0	36.0	33.5
No opinion	13.0	19.0	20.5	15.5
N.	411	200	83	694

the formal recognition of mainland China. It is highly probable that a content analysis of press reports and news commentaries would show that the French news media are at least as favourably disposed as the English towards Canadian recognition of China. Yet a significantly larger proportion of English-speaking Canadians favour a policy of recognition. The breakdown by education suggests that it accounts for only a small part of the difference. Religion may be seen to be a factor of some slight significance in influencing the attitude of French Canadians on this issue.

Table 13.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes, should recognize	39.0	36.0	29.5	52.0	24.0	41.0
No, should not recognize	41.5	46.0	41.0	32.0	52.0	32.0
No opinion	19.5	18.0	29.5	16.0	24.0	27.0
N.	36	78	17	69	25	22
% Lang. Group	8.7	39.0	20.5	16.8	12.5	26.5
	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Yes, should recognize	56.0	40.5	55.0	62.0	50.0	50.0
No, should not "	33.0	38.5	30.0	26.0	36.5	40.0
No opinion	11.0	21.0	15.0	12.0	13.5	10.0
N.	134	52	20	89	30	10
% Lang. Group	32.6	26.0	24.1	21.6	15.0	12.0

Table 13.3 (Religion)

	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	
	<u>English</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>
Yes, should recognize	58.5	51.5	39.0
No, should not	28.0	36.0	42.0
No opinion	13.5	12.0	19.0
N.	344	58	198
% Lang. Group	83.6	14.1	99.0

Two questions on the prospects of peace were asked in January 1965. One referred to the peace-keeping effectiveness of the United Nations, and the answers to it indicate a difference between English and

Table 14.1 (CIPO - January 1965)

Q: As things stand today would you say the chances of the United Nations for keeping the peace in the world are good or poor?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Good	42.0	51.0	44.5	44.5
Fair	32.0	20.5	28.0	28.5
Poor	22.0	19.0	22.5	21.5
No opinion	4.0	9.5	5.0	5.5
N.	462	188	79	729

French opinions on whether the prospects were "good" or "fair". The difference, however, seems to be one of nuance rather than substance. It is possible that the English respondent is more inclined to qualify his optimism where the French respondent tends to be more definite in his judgments. But another explanation also suggests itself. The word "fair" has a generally positive connotation in English and may denote a slight hesitation to use an unqualified "good". The French questionnaire uses the word "passable" which does not have a similar positive ring. One could argue, therefore,

that a larger proportion of French respondents answered "good" because there was not an alternative answer that implied a qualified "good". This point would seem to be sustained by the relative uniformity in the replies to a question on the prospects of war that was asked in the same survey.

Table 15.1 (CIPO - January 1965)

Q: How long do you think it will be before there is another world war - or do you think it's unlikely we will have another world war?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Within a year	.5	2.5	0	1.0
1 - 5 years	3.5	4.0	5.0	4.0
6 - 10 years	7.0	9.0	11.5	8.0
over 10 years	13.5	15.0	10.0	13.5
war unlikely	53.0	54.5	48.0	53.0
don't know	22.5	15.0	25.5	20.5
N.	462	188	79	729

In concluding this brief chapter two general ~~main~~ observations may be made. The first is that French-speaking Canadians score lower in cognition and interest than English-speaking Canadians with respect to the international environment. This is only partly accounted for by the lower average level of education. The second is that, on the whole, the orientation of French Canadians towards international issues differs markedly from the positions that find expression in the French media of communication.

Chapter Four

The Two Nations

This chapter will deal with two sets of questions. One has to do with relations between English and French speaking Canadians, both directly and in the broader context of federalism. The other group of questions pertains to various kinds of national symbols. As in the previous chapter, it will be seen that the data do not readily lend themselves to classification under the headings of cognition, feeling and evaluation. Instead, each of the two groups of questions will be presented chronologically.

As indices of the current crisis in Canadian federalism the data in the first part of this chapter will appear to be particularly relevant and interesting. However, the larger perspective of this study should not be overlooked. It is to examine the evidence of differences in the political cultures of English and French Canada. Such evidence will be found especially in the second part of the chapter that deals with perceptions of national symbols.

English-French Relations

By the Spring of 1963 most Canadians were aware of, and responding to the winds of change within French Canada and the strong assertions of French Canadian "nationhood". The obtrusiveness of separatist organizations in Quebec, the slogans of the Quebec general election of November 1962, and much of the debate during the federal election campaign all served to focus attention and evoke attitudes on English-French relations. There are significant differences in the pattern of

English and French responses to questions that were asked in Gallup polls starting in April 1963. If a generalization may be hazarded at this point it is that the differences may be seen as a function of the way in which respondents, subjectively, feel about the status quo and identify their own status with that of their language community and, also, of the conditioning process within each of the language communities. ~~One might have expected the French respondents to be~~

Table 1.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: Do you think TODAY feelings between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians are better or worse than say five years ago?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Better	24.5	37.0	15.5	26.5
Worse	32.0	14.0	22.5	25.5
Same	25.5	35.5	24.5	28.5
Undecided	17.0	12.5	26.5	17.0
No answer	1.0	1.0	11.0	2.5
N	1591	742	374	2707

One might have expected the French-speaking respondents to be at least as pessimistic as the English in assessing the feelings of the two language groups towards each other. Indeed, much of the nationalist expression in Quebec is critical of, if not openly hostile towards the role and behaviour of the English-speaking community. Yet, the results show the French-speaking sample to be much more sanguine about the trend in relations between the two communities. One of the obvious explanations for this is that English and French

respondents perceived the question from different vantage points. For many French Canadians the changes occurring in Quebec, the dynamism and assertiveness of their political leadership, and the promise of adjustments in relations between Quebec and Ottawa must have been the ground for their opinion that "feelings" were getting better. On the other hand, those who might be ~~with the response~~ ^{impatient with rate of} change, or skeptical about accommodation with the English, would tend to judge that feelings were getting worse. In the English-speaking group, however, many would seem to sense in the pressures generated by French Canada a threat to the comfortable status quo, hence the tendency to give a less positive response to the question.

The distribution of answers by age indicates that younger French Canadians

Table 1.2 (AGE)

	<u>20 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Better	28.0	35.5	18.5	27.0	44.0	11.0	23.0	35.0	19.5	21.0	33.5	14.5
Worse	35.0	20.0	13.5	29.5	12.0	22.0	29.0	12.0	37.0	34.5	11.0	19.5
Same	23.0	24.5	25.0	27.5	33.0	21.0	28.0	40.5	13.5	25.0	45.5	35.0
Undecided	13.0	18.5	26.5	15.0	9.5	28.5	19.0	10.5	26.0	18.5	10.0	25.0
No answer	1.0	1.5	16.5	1.0	1.5	17.5	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	0	6.0
N.	318	194	80	382	187	109	361	172	73	530	189	112
% Lang. Gp.	20.0	26.2	21.4	24.0	25.3	29.1	22.7	23.2	19.5	33.4	25.5	29.9

are less impressed than their elders by the improvement in "feelings" and are also less inclined to say that matters are the same as they were before. The breakdown by education shows that it is not an important factor in the differences between the two language groups, but it accounts for variations within each of the groups. Thus, we note that the more highly educated are less likely to be undecided or insensitive to the fact that relations between

Table 1.3 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better	21.0	33.0	10.5	20.0	30.5	23.5	25.0	38.0	18.0
Worse	23.5	10.5	15.5	32.0	11.5	15.0	30.5	18.5	24.5
Same	26.0	38.5	30.0	25.0	43.5	13.5	30.0	33.5	21.5
Undecided	28.5	17.0	31.5	22.0	13.0	32.0	14.5	9.0	29.0
No answer	1.0	1.0	12.5	1.0	1.5	16.0	.0	1.0	7.0
N.	162	261	96	188x 260	81 138	81 81	207 552	89 207	89
% Lang. Gp.	10.2	35.2	25.6	16.4	18.6	21.6	34.8	27.9	23.7
	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>Some University</u>			<u>Completed University</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better	23.5	46.0	18.0	35.0	56.5	0	30.0	46.5	0
Worse	34.5	17.5	30.0	38.0	13.0	23.5	37.5	20.0	61.5
Same	24.5	30.5	22.0	16.5	26.0	53.0	18.0	20.0	23.0
Undecided	15.5	5.0	16.5	10.0	4.5	17.5	12.5	13.5	15.5
No answer	2.0	1.0	13.5	.5	0	6.0	2.0	0	0
N.	320	85 85	67	132	23	17	96	15	13
% Lang. Gp.	20.2	11.5	17.9	8.3	3.1	4.5	6.05	2.0	3.5

the two communities were changing. The regional distribution of responses shows rather surprisingly that distance from Quebec does not seem to have a

Table 1.4 (Region)

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better	27.0	55.5	0	23.0	36.5	18.5	24.5	38.5	12.5
Worse	29.0	7.5	0	28.0	14.5	31.5	32.5	10.5	26.5
Same	22.0	29.5	50.0	31.0	35.5	13.0	26.0	42.0	23.5
Undecided	22.0	7.5	25.0	11.5	12.5	21.0	16.0	3.5	29.5
No answer	0	0	25.0	6.5	1.0	16.0	1.0	5.5	8.0
<hr/>									
N.	236	27	4	61	636	38	776	57	133
% Lang. Gp.	14.9	3.6	1.1	3.8	85.8	10.1	48.9	7.7	35.5
<hr/>									
	<u>Man/Sask.</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better	24.5	31.0	21.0	22.5	25.0	8.0	22.0	0	19.0
Worse	33.5	7.5	21.0	37.0	50.0	14.5	31.5	20.0	19.0
Same	28.0	38.5	31.0	28.0	25.0	26.0	25.5	20.0	19.0
Undecided	13.5	23.0	22.0	12.5	0	32.0	20.0	60.0	24.0
No answer	.5	0	5.0	0	0	19.5	1.0	0	19.0
<hr/>									
N.	176	13	100	129	4	62	213	5	37
% Lang. Gp.	11.1	1.7	26.7	8.1	.5	16.5	13.4	.7	9.9

7.7

significant influence on the opinions of English respondents. It is remarkable, however, that French-speaking residents of Ontario and the Atlantic provinces are even more optimistic than their compatriots in Quebec about the changing mood in English-French relations.

A pointed question about the "rights" of French Canadians produced rather expected results. A very small proportion of English respondents was prepared to

Table 2.1 (CIPO - June 1963)

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Agree	17.5	48.0	27.0	27.5
Disagree	57.0	11.0	40.5	41.5
No opinion	25.5	41.0	32.5	31.0
N	405	193	89	687

concede that French Canadians had not been "given" their full rights. Since we cannot assume that, on the whole, responses to this question were based generally on an objective evaluation of historical and social experience, it may be suggested that cultural conditioning and the implications of change in relative status of the two language communities are the major factors accounting for the differences.

The distribution of answers by education shows that it has some effect on the number of "no opinions" but not on the direct expressions of agreement ~~or~~ or

* Q: As you know there is considerable feeling that French Canadians have not been given their full rights under Confederation. Do you agree with this or not?

Table 2.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
XXXXX						
Agree	17.0	38.0	21.5	9.0	64.5	16.5
Disagree	32.0	10.5	30.5	57.5	12.0	42.0
No opinion	51.0	51.5	48.0	33.5	23.5	41.5
N.	47	58	23	54	17	24
% Lang. Gp.	11.5	30.0	25.8	13.3	8.8	26.9

	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	English EngXXXXXXXXXXOth.
Agree	15.5	48.5	36.5	23.0	54.0	44.5	18.0
Disagree	59.0	7.5	41.0	62.5	18.0	33.5	62.0
No opinion	25.5	44.0	22.5	14.5	28.0	22.0	20.0
N.	134	68	22	109	39	9	45
% Lang. Gp.	33.0	35.2	24.7	26.8	20.2	10.1	11.1

disagreement. It is noteworthy that the opinions of the university educated English-speaking respondents do not differ markedly from the rest of the English sample. In the breakdown by regions one finds the sharpest expression of the English difference from the French in the Prairie provinces.

Table 2.3 (Region)

	<u>Atlantic Provinces</u>			<u>Quebec</u>			<u>Ontario</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Agree	14.5	50.0	0	40.0	50.5	27.5	19.5	27.0	34.5
Disagree	42.0	41.5	66.5	35.0	5.5	9.0	59.0	36.5	41.5
No opinion	43.5	8.5	33.5	25.0	44.0	63.5	21.5	36.5	24.0
N.	55	12	3	20	161	11	199	11	29
% Lang. Gp.	13.5	6.2	3.3	4.9	83.4	12.3	48.9	5.7	32.6
	<u>Man/Sask</u>			<u>Alberta</u>			<u>Br. Columbia</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Agree	7.0	33.5	20.0	11.0		36.5	17.0		20.0
Disagree	71.5	33.5	65.0	64.0		54.5	56.5		13.5
No opinion	21.5	33.0	15.0	25.0		9.0	26.5		66.5
N.	42	9	20	36	0	11	53		15
% Lang. Gp.	10.3	4.7	22.5	8.9	0	12.3	13.0		16.8

There are a number of other variables that might be touched on briefly. English-speaking Catholics come closer to the French position than do Protestants. Where Protestants "agree" and "disagree" with the question in the proportion of 16.0% and 59.5% respectively, the corresponding figures for English Catholics are 27.0% and 37.5%. This suggests that the problem of separate schools is seen as an aspect of the larger question of French Canadian rights. It is also interesting to note that community size has a bearing on English attitudes.

Table 2.4 (Community Size)

	English-speaking			<u>Number</u>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	
Farm	17.0	62.0	21.0	66
Rural, under 1,000	8.5	65.0	26.5	60
1,000 - 10,000	17.5	68.5	14.0	57
10,000 - 30,000	6.5	43.5	50.0	30
30,000 - 100,000	6.0	64.5	29.5	34
Over 100,000	26.0	48.0	26.0	158

A follow-up question asked respondents why they agree or disagreed with the ~~proposition~~ ^{proposition} that French Canadians were not receiving their full rights. A list of possible reasons was presented to the respondents. The following tables give only the results that appear to have significance both in terms of numbers and ranking.

Table 2.5 Reasons for disagreeing with the statement that French Canadians have not been given their full rights.

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
They have equal rights	55.0	57.0	50.0
They want too much	8.5	9.5	11.0
Number	230	21	36

Table 2.6 Reasons for agreeing with the statement

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
There is discrimination	28.0	27.0	37.5
French language is not stressed enough	14.0	6.5	12.5
Unequal opportunities in employment	8.5	18.5	0
	71	93	24

The ranking of reasons in the second table seems to be particularly important.

It suggests that French Canadians are much less concerned about widespread bilingualism than about their social and economic status.

In August 1963, the question of Confederation's future was raised. On the whole, one found a reluctance to say that Canada would break up, although those in the "other" group were more ready to say so than either the English or French-speaking respondents. A significant difference shows up among those who disagree categorically with the statement. A sizable proportion of the French

Table 3.1

Q: Some people say the differences between various parts of Canada are now so great they will never be solved, and that Confederation will break up. Do you agree or not?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Agree	10.0	13.5	17.5	12.0
Disagree	80.5	57.0	64.0	72.0
Qualified	0.5	0.5	1.5	.5
No opinion	9.0	29.0	17.0	15.5
N.	435	202	75	712

sample seems to prefer a non-committal "no opinion" to a clear-cut assertion that Confederation will not break up. Education is a factor in the large number of "no opinion" in the French group but it does not fully account for the difference. It would have been interesting to compare the results if the same question were posed in 1965.

Table 3.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Agree	10.0	10.0	17.5	13.0	16.5	7.5
Disagree	77.0	46.5	53.0	75.5	58.5	69.5
Qualified	0	1.0	0	0	0	0
No opinion	13.0	42.5	29.5	11.5	25.0	23.0
N.	39	82	17	85	12	13
% Lang. Gp.	9.0	40.5	22.5	19.5	6.0	17.5
	<u>Some Secondary</u>			<u>Completed Secondary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Agree						
Agree	11.0	15.0	12.5	5.0	9.5	38.5
Disagree	79.0	62.0	75.0	82.0	77.5	38.5
Qualified	0	0	0	4.0	0	7.5
No opinion	10.0	23.0	12.5	9.0	13.0	15.5
N.	152	66	16	77	31	13
% Lang. Gp.	35.0	32.5	21.5	17.5	15.5	17.5

The establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Summer of 1963 aroused a good deal of interest and widespread public discussion. Yet, when the question was asked in November 1963 whether people had heard or read about the Commission, a third of the total sample gave a negative answer. To be sure, those in the "other" language group scored lowest in cognition.

Table 4.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: Do you happen to have heard or read of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism set up by the Federal government?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	69.0	70.5	47.0	66.7
No.	31.0	29.5	53.0	33.3
N.	428	186	94	708

Those who answered the question in the affirmative were then asked to assess the importance of the Commission for the future of Canada. The question

Table 5.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

Q: How important to the future of Canada do you think this Commission is?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Very important	35.5	48.0	45.5	40.0
Fairly important	26.0	33.5	18.0	27.0
Not very important	32.0	13.0	20.5	25.5
Can't say	6.5	5.5	16.0	7.5
N.	295	131	44	470

lends itself to ambiguous interpretation because the Commission could be important either as a unifying or a splintering factor in Canadian federalism. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that it was from the standpoint of strengthening federalism that respondents viewed the question. There is a significant difference between the English and French groups in their expectations that the Commission's work would prove important in resolving some of the problems of English-French relations. It shows up particularly among those who respond negatively to the Commission's prospects.

The distribution of answers by education shows that the responses are quite uniform in each language group except for the lowest educational level. Only the English sample had a sufficient number of respondents with some university education to justify their inclusion in the table.

Table 5.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>
Very important	13.5	44.5	0	36.5	41.5	50.0	30.0	53.5	54.0
Fairly important	20.0	38.5	25.0	12.0	42.0	0	32.5	31.0	30.5
Not very "	40.0	2.0	25.0	39.0	16.5	0	27.5	15.5	15.5
Can't say	26.5	15.0	50.0	12.5	0	50.0	10.0	0	0
N.	15	47	4	41	12	2	90	45	13
% Lang. Group	5.1	35.9	9.1	13.9	9.2	4.5	30.4	34.3	29.5

13-A

Table 5.2 (Education)Continued

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Oth.</u>	<u>English</u>
Very important	34.0	44.5	55.5	46.0
Fairly important	23.5	22.0	11.0	24.0
Not very important	39.0	33.5	22.5	30.0
Can't say	3.5	0	11.0	0
N.	59	18	9	67
% Lang. Group	19.9	13.7	20.5	22.7

A breakdown of English responses by region shows the highest incidence of negative assessment in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Although the number of English-speaking residents of Quebec is disproportionately small in this as in other samples, the pattern of their responses to questions of English-French relations indicates that they perceive this issue quite differently than do other English-speaking Canadians. (See pp 120-22)

Table 5.3 (Region - English only)

	<u>Atlantic Prov.</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>Man/Sask</u>	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>Br. Columbia</u>
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>
Very important	48.5	68.5	31.0	27.0	20.0	38.0
Fairly important	27.0	10.5	25.5	19.5	50.0	26.5
Not very import.	22.0	10.5	35.0	46.5	30.0	29.0
Can't say	2.5	10.5	8.5	7.0	0	6.5
N.	41	19	129	41	20	45

In the same poll that referred to the Royal Commission a rather complicated question about the possibility of biculturalism was also asked. Again, the French group responded more positively to the question and its implication

Table 6.1 (CIPO - November 1963)

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Possible	38.5	65.5	32.0	44.5
Not possible	49.0	24.0	42.5	41.5
Qualified	3.5	.5	4.0	3.0
No opinion	9.0	10.0	21.5	11.0
N.	428	186	94	708

Q: Some people believe that Canada can achieve official recognition of both French and English culture in all provinces. Others do not think it is possible to do this. What is your opinion?

that biculturalism was one of the possible solutions to English-French problems. In controlling for education one finds the expected correlation between low education and "no opinion." But it is interesting to note that the proportion of those who say that the official recognition of both cultures "in all provinces" is not possible increases with education in both the English and French samples. It

Table 6.2 (Education)

XXXX	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Possible	39.0	69.0	13.5	32.5	63.0	31.5	42.0	62.0	57.0
Not "	33.5	17.5	36.5	47.0	26.5	50.0	45.0	30.0	28.5
Qualified	0	1.5	0	4.5	0	0	4.0	0	5.0
No opinion	27.5	12.0	50.0	16.0	10.5	18.5	9.0	8.0	9.5
N.	36	74	22	68	19	16	146	63	21
% Lang. Gp.	8.4	39.7	23.3	15.8	10.2	17.0	34.0	34.0	22.2

~~Completed Primary~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>XXXX</u>	<u>University</u>
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.		Eng.
Possible	37.0	68.5	31.0		34.5
Not possible	56.5	31.5	46.0		60.0
Qualified	4.0	0	7.5		4.0
No opinion	2.5	0	15.5		1.5
N.	76	19	13		75
% Lang. Gp.	17.7	10.2	13.8		17.4

would seem that the better educated respondents were more alert to the wording of the question ("official recognition all provinces") and hence more inclined than the less educated to give a negative response. The distribution of English responses by region suggests that they are affected by the nature and size of the French Canadian community in that region.

Table 6.2 - Region (English sample only)

	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Not possible</u>	<u>Qualified</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Number</u>
Atlantic Provinces	36.5	39.5	3.5	20.5	58
Quebec	54.5	36.5	0	9.0	22
Ontario	40.0	45.5	5.0	9.5	199
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	52.0	42.5	3.5	2.0	54
Alberta	33.5	64.0	2.5	0	36
British Columbia	18.5	71.0	2.0	8.5	59

The issue of "separatism" was broached in August 1964. The question did not ask the respondents to state a position for or against separatism but to judge the likelihood of Quebec's becoming a separate state. At first sight one might say

Table 7.1 - (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: As you may know the Separatist movement in Quebec wants that provinces to leave Confederation and become a separate state. Do you think this might happen or do you think it's not very likely?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Might happen	18.5	26.0	15.0	20.0
Not very likely	62.0	49.0	53.5	57.0
Never happen	12.0	16.0	15.5	13.5
Don't know	7.5	8.0	16.0	9.0
No answer	0	1.0	0	.5
N.	415	198	112	725

that the data reflect the current political climate, although there might be some surprise that a larger percentage of French speaking seem ready to assert that the separation of Quebec from Canada will never happen. Some qualification is called for, however, In the first place, among those in the French group who say separation "might happen" there must be ^{many} ~~a sizable proportion of other studies~~ who are not so much expressing a judgment of, as a commitment to the eventual separation of Quebec. This suggests that the respondents in this category are not wholly comparable. In the second place, the third of the alternative answers offered to the respondents did not have the same meaning in the French and English versions of the questionnaire. The answer ^{"never happen"} ~~"happen"~~ appeared in French as "n'arrivera pas" which means "will not happen". It is therefore not surprising that 16% of the French sample says "will not happen" where 12% of the English sample says will "never happen".

The question on the likelihood of separation was followed by a more searching one on the implications of separation for the future of Canada. Where 60% of the English-speaking respondents thought that they would be serious (very or fairly)

Table 8.1 (CIPO - August 1964)

Q: If it (separation) should happen and Quebec did leave Confederation, how serious do you think this would be for the future of the rest of Canada - very serious, fairly serious, or not very serious?

	<u>English%</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Very serious	36.0	47.5	34.0	39.0
Fairly serious	24.0	32.0	17.0	25.0
Not very serious	34.0	11.0	36.5	28.0
No opinion	6.0	9.5	12.5	8.0
N.	415	198	112	725

the corresponding proportion of French respondents was 79.5%. A sharp difference of attitude shows up among those who are prepared to shrug off separation as unlikely to produce very serious consequences for the rest of Canada. That a larger proportion of English Canadians should feel this way is understandable. It is not a ~~r~~ational evaluation but a kind of bravado reaction - as if to say, "we can get along very well without Quebec." On the other hand, whether or not the French respondent favours separation, he sees it as having serious consequences for the rest of Canada.

The distribution by education shows that the more highly educated English-speaking respondents express a greater concern about the effects of separation than does the balance of the English sample.

Table 8.2 - (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Very serious	30.5	42.0	41.5	30.0	35.0	23.0	31.5	48.5	24.0
Fairly serious	28.0	33.0	21.0	17.0	45.0	18.0	26.0	33.5	9.5
Not very "	30.5	9.5	16.5	50.0	10.0	45.5	38.0	12.0	47.5
No opinion	11.0	15.5	21.0	3.0	10.0	13.5	4.5	6.0	19.0
N.	36	64	24	64	20	22	134	66	21
% Lang. Gp.	8.7	32.3	21.4	15.4	10.1	19.6	32.3	33.3	18.7

Table 8.2 (continued)

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>University</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Very serious	37.0	48.5	46.0	50.5	78.5	28.5
Fairly serious	24.5	27.5	12.5	24.0	21.5	28.5
Not very serious	25.0	20.5	37.5	24.0	0	43.0
No opinion	13.5	3.5	4.0	1.5	0	0
N.	89	29	24	63	14	14
% Lang. Gp.	21.4	14.6	21.4	15.2	7.1	12.5

In the regional breakdown one finds that English Canadians west of Quebec are less inclined to be pessimistic about the consequences of separation than their "Anglophone" compatriots to the east.

Table 8.3 (Region)

English sample only

	<u>Very serious</u>	<u>Fairly serious</u>	<u>Not very serious</u>
Atlantic Provinces	49.0	21.5	20.0
Quebec	52.0	28.0	12.0
Ontario	30.5	26.0	37.5
Man./Sask.	32.5	21.5	40.5
Alberta	33.5	22.0	39.0
British Columbia	36.5	21.0	38.5

The Gallup Poll of November 1964 contained an intriguing question which, in effect, asked those interviewed what they thought would be the consequences of transforming Canada into a centralized, unitary state governed wholly from Ottawa.

Table 9.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: Do you think Canada would be better off, or worse off, if all provincial governments were abolished and the whole country governed from Ottawa?
(Pensez-vous que ce serait mieux ou pire pour le Canada si tous les gouvernements provinciaux étaient abolis et tout le pays gouverné d'Ottawa?)

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Better off	16.5	17.5	29.0	18.5
Worse off	72.5	58.5	59.5	67.0
Can't say	10.5	23.0	11.5	14.0
No difference	.5	1.0	0	.5
N.	437	193	89	719

To be sure, only a small minority in the two major language groups thought it would be better for Canada if it became a unitary state, but it is surprising to find the percentages roughly equal. Turning to the data for those who say that Canada would be worse off, we find a significantly higher proportion of the English-speaking group in this category. One would have thought that the idea of a unitary Canada would be rejected much more spontaneously and decisively by French Canadians than by English Canadians.

In controlling for education we find a pretty clear relationship in both language groups between educational level and response. The more highly

Table 9.2 (Education)

	<u>Some Primary</u>			<u>Completed Primary</u>			<u>Some Secondary</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better off	16.5	22.5	45.0	27.5	24.0	17.5	14.5	18.5	24.0
Worse off	58.5	44.5	45.0	56.5	62.0	70.5	73.0	58.5	62.0
Can't say	22.0	31.5	10.0	14.5	14.0	12.0	12.0	23.0	14.0
No difference	3.0	1.5	0	1.5	0	0	.5	0	0
N.	36	76	20	69	21	17	152	60	21
% Lang. Gp.	8.2	39.4	22.5	15.8	10.9	19.1	34.8	31.1	23.6

	<u>Completed Secondary</u>			<u>Technical</u>			<u>University</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
Better off	19.0	4.5	0	7.0	0	50.0	10.5	0	37.5
Worse off	77.5	82.0	92.0	82.0	80.0	30.0	85.0	100.0	62.5
Can't say	3.5	9.0	8.0	11.0	20.0	20.0	4.5	0	0
No difference	0	4.5	0	0	0		0	0	0
N.	84	22	12	28	5	10	67	8	8
% Lang. Gp.	19.2	11.4	13.5	6.4	2.6	11.2	15.3	4.1	9.0

educated respondents seem to appreciate the factors that call for a federal form of government in Canada and therefore judge that the country would be worse off if a unitary system were established. In the case of French-speaking respondents, however, there is the additional factor of a nationalism which regards any enlargement ^{or} ~~of~~ increase in the powers of the federal government as a threat to the survival

of the French-Canadian "nation". This helps to account for the fact that of the 35 French respondents with a secondary school education or better only one (2.9%) say "better off" and thirty (85.7%) say "worse off". But the contrast between this group and those who had ^{not} completed a secondary education is startling. 21% of the latter group indicate that Canada would be better off, and only 52.2% that it would be worse off. It should be noted that 81.4% of the French sample did not complete secondary school. The data presented here reinforce the general observation that the educated and articulate minority does not necessarily reflect the opinions and attitude of the group as a whole.

The data on distribution by age and community size are tabulated here because they appear to be interesting although they do not lend themselves to ready interpretation.

Table 9.3 - (Age)

	<u>Better off</u>		<u>Worse off</u>		<u>Can't say</u>		<u>Number</u>	
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>
21 - 29	11.5	9.5	75.5	59.0	11.5	31.5	78	54
30 - 39	20.5	23.0	65.0	60.5	13.5	16.0	97	56
40 - 49	4.5	15.5	84.0	51.0	11.5	31.0	94	45
over 50	23.0	23.5	69.0	63.0	7.0	10.5	168	38
Total	16.5	17.5	72.5	58.5	10.5	23.0	437	193

Table 9.4 (Community size)

	<u>Better off</u>		<u>Worse off</u>		<u>Can't say</u>		<u>Number</u>	
	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.
Farm	10.0	34.5	82.5	58.0	7.5	7.5	40	26
Under 1,000	10.5	9.0	81.5	64.5	8.0	26.5	76	34
1,000 - 10,000	18.5	10.0	66.5	55.0	15.0	35.0	54	20
10,000 - 30,000	23.0	11.0	69.0	89.0	7.5	0	26	9
30,000 - 100,000	19.5	0	66.5	93.0	14.0	7.0	51	14
over 100,000	18.0	21.0	70.5	49.0	10.0	28.0	190	90
Total	16.5	17.5	72.5	58.5	10.5	23.0	437	193

It is now possible to draw a general conclusion from the data presented in the first part of this chapter. In the current crisis of relations between English and French Canada, the concept of moderation has come to mean an attitude that is oriented towards an accommodation between the two communities within the framework of a continuing federalism. If we accept this as a useful working definition, the conclusion seems inescapable that a higher proportion of French Canadians than English Canadians may be classed as "moderates". This should not be surprising if we recall the point made earlier that attitudes in this area may be seen, to a large degree, as a function of the respondent's subjective assessment (not necessarily conscious and deliberate) of what accommodation might mean in terms of his present status. Accommodation between two parties implies some movement by both towards an intermediate position. Objectively, the new position might represent a gain for each of the parties. Subjectively, however, individuals who perceive an improvement in their status as a result of accommodation are more likely to have a positive

orientation towards it than those who perceive it either as a threat to their relative status or, at least, as an inconvenience. The past three or four years have witnessed a process of accommodation, especially on the governmental level, to some of the claims of French Canada. This has undoubtedly had a disturbing effect on the inertia of English Canada.

The evidence for the above argument may now be usefully summarized.

Table 1 showed a higher proportion of French Canadians holding the view that feelings between the two language groups had been improving. This bespeaks a positive evaluation of the accommodation that was taking place. In Table 2, on the question of the rights of French Canadians, only a small proportion of the English-speaking sample was ready to agree with the feeling that they might not have been fully respected. Regardless of the objective facts, the reluctance to concede that the feeling might be justified may be seen as inhibiting the desire to reach an accommodation. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is clearly one of the most important symbols of the accommodative process in Canada today. Table 5 indicates that French Canadians have greater expectations that the work of the Commission will prove important for the future of Canada. On the other hand, a sizable portion of the English sample expressed skepticism. Whether or not the full equality of English and French culture can be achieved^d in practice throughout Canada may be questionable, but the belief or hope that it can be achieved is an important element in the process of accommodation. Table 6 shows

that the proportion of French Canadians who believe in this possibility is almost double that of the English-speaking Canadians. Finally, the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada would be definitive proof of the failure of accommodation. Table 8 indicates that the proportion of the English sample that downgrades the seriousness of separation for the rest of Canada is three times that of the French sample. If one puts a low value on the integrity of Canadian federalism one is unlikely to be willing to pay a high price for its maintenance.

It must be emphasized, however, that the above generalization is a very tentative one, based as it is on aggregate figures. In a real negotiating situation - and accommodation implies negotiation - it is not so much the unarticulated ^{mood} ~~need~~ of the general population on both sides but the attitudes and skills of the leaders and spokesmen that is decisive. Even if the majority of a population might be classed as "moderate", it could be more than counter-balanced in a given situation by a minority that is intensely committed to an *The converse, one might add, probably also holds true.* "immoderate" position if that minority is well organized and articulate. ✓ The available survey data were regrettably inadequate for more elaborate generalizations.

A final observation that needs to be made is that the English-speaking resident of Quebec is, in terms of our definition, more moderate than the English-speaking Canadian in general. It has been pointed out that the Gallup Poll's

sample of English-speaking Quebecers is disproportionately small so that the results for this group in any one survey have little or no statistical significance. But where one finds a cumulative pattern of responses with respect to a particular set of issues in a number of different surveys the statistical significance may become considerable. This is the basis for the observation made at the beginning of the paragraph. If one examines the regional breakdown of the tables referred to above as evidence of attitudes towards accommodation it is clear that the English-speaking Quebecer scores much higher than the English sample as a whole.

Table 10

	<u>English-speaking Respondents</u>	
	<u>Quebec only</u>	<u>Canada as a whole</u>
Table 1 - Feelings between English and French are worse	28.0	32.0
Table 2 - Agree that French Canadians not given full rights	40.0	17.5
Table 5 - Importance of Royal Commission on Bilingualism -		
Very	68.5	35.5
Not very	10.5	32.0
Table 6 - Recognition of both cultures		
Possible	54.5	38.5
Not possible	36.5	49.0
Table 8 - Seriousness of separation for the rest of Canada		
Very	46.0	36.0
Not very	12.0	34.0

The point made earlier that the attitude towards accommodation is a function of subjective status needs to be elaborated somewhat if it is to accord with the above data. Although accommodation means for the English-speaking Quebecer a more drastic change in his relative status than it does for English Canadians in general, he seems to be more receptive to it. ^{Two} ~~The~~ factors suggest themselves. The first is that the English-speaking resident of Quebec is more sensitive, and therefore more sympathetic, to the claims of French Canada. The second, and more important factor is that he perceives accommodation to be the only alternative to political instability or outright separation which are, by far, the more serious threats to his status. ^{accommodation} ~~It~~ ¹ therefore corresponds to his subjective interest.

Symbols

The Gallup polls examined for this study contained questions on four kinds of national symbols - flag, anthem, monarchy^{1v} and Commonwealth. It will be seen that there are very significant differences between English and French in the perception of these symbols and that they arise primarily from attitudes towards the historical and continuing connection between Canada and Britain.

In April 1963 a ⁹question on the flag and one on the national anthem were asked in succession. The following tables show the overall⁻ results and the distribution by age.

Table 11.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: Which of these things do you think Canada should do about its flag - design a new national flag of its own or use the Canadian Red Ensign or use the Union Jack?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
New flag	31.0	71.5	41.5	43.5
Red Ensign	22.5	4.5	7.0	15.5
Union Jack	35.5	4.0	22.5	25.0
No opinion	10.0	18.5	17.5	13.5
No answer	1.0	1.5	11.5	2.5
N.	1591	742	374	2707

Table 11.2 (Age)

	<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
New flag	41.5	67.5	47.5	37.0	78.0	38.5	29.5	71.5	48.0	21.0	70.0	35.5
Red Ensign	18.0	3.0	2.5	23.5	1.5	8.0	23.0	4.0	7.0	23.5	8.5	10.0
Union Jack	29.0	5.0	23.5	31.5	2.5	24.0	34.5	4.5	24.5	43.0	4.5	18.5
No opinion	10.5	22.5	10.0	7.0	16.5	12.0	12.0	18.0	16.5	11.5	17.0	29.5
No answer	1.0	1.5	16.5	1.0	1.5	17.5	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	0	6.5
N.	318	194	80	382	187	109	361	172	73	530	189	112
% Lang. Gp.	20.0	26.2	21.4	24.1	25.2	29.1	22.7	23.2	19.5	33.4	25.5	29.9

Table 12.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: Here are the titles of four patriotic songs. Which do you think is most suitable for our national anthem?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
O Canada	61.5	90.0	65.0	70.0
God save the Queen	17.0	2.0	6.0	11.5
Maple Leaf	15.5	2.0	8.0	10.5
Rule Britannia	.5	.5	.5	.5
Other	.5	0	.5	.5
Can't say	4.0	4.0	9.0	4.5
No answer	1.0	1.5	11.0	2.5
N.	1591	742	374	2707

Table 12.2

(AGE)

	<u>20 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
O Canada	74.5	87.5	71.5	65.0	94.0	68.0	59.5	88.0	72.5	53.0	91.0	53.5
God save..	9.0	2.0	0	13.0	.5	2.0	17.5	3.0	7.0	24.5	2.5	13.5
Maple Leaf	12.5	1.0	5.0	16.0	.5	8.0	15.5	4.0	7.0	16.5	3.0	10.5
Rule Brit.	0	.5	0	0	0	1.0	1.0	.5	0	.5	1.0	0
Other	1.0	0	1.0	1.0	0	0	.5	0	1.5	0	0	0
Can't say	2.0	7.5	6.5	4.0	3.5	3.5	5.0	3.0	8.0	4.5	2.5	16.0
No answer	1.0	1.5	16.0	1.0	1.5	17.5	1.0	1.5	4.0	1.0	0	6.5
N.	318	194	80	382	187	109	361	172	73	530	189	112
% Lang. Gp.	20.0	26.2	21.4	24.1	25.2	29.1	22.7	23.2	19.5	33.4	25.5	29.9

The age distribution tables indicate that French opinion is relatively consistent in favouring a distinctive new flag and O Canada as the anthem. English opinion, on the other hand, shows a clear-cut correlation with age. One notes an increasing reluctance among the older English-speaking respondents to adopt a symbolism that erases all signs of the traditional relationship with Britain. This is particularly true in the case of the flag.

Some of the other demographic variables are interesting and they will be dealt with very briefly. The regional breakdown shows that the strongest support for the Union Jack came from the Atlantic provinces - 47% (N= 236) - as did also the highest proportion in favour of "God Save the Queen" - 26.5%. In the distribution by community size we find the strongest traditionalist position in the English-speaking rural areas and small towns. Education is also a significant factor. The highest incidence of traditionalism in the English group (Union Jack, God Save the Queen) is to be found among those whose education did not go beyond the primary school level. It should be pointed out, however, that as one moves up the educational scale in the English sample one finds that support tends to be evenly divided between a new flag and the Red Ensign.

The question of a national anthem was posed again in November 1964. This time respondents were given a simple choice between God Save the Queen and O Canada. The percentage favouring O Canada was roughly the same as in April 1963 for the English and French samples. The elimination of the "Maple Leaf" and

"Rule Britannia" as alternatives had the effect of consolidating support for God Save the Queen. The distribution by age again shows it to be a factor.

Table 13.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: Which do you yourself think should be the national anthem for Canada - God Save the Queen or O Canada?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
God Save the Queen	23.5	4.0	12.5	17.0
O Canada	69.5	94.0	85.5	78.0
Neither	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.5
No opinion	5.5	.5	1.0	3.5
N.	437	193	89	719

Table 13.2 (AGE)

	<u>21 - 29</u>			<u>30 - 39</u>			<u>40 - 49</u>			<u>50 and over</u>		
	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.	Eng.	Fr.	Oth.
God Save the Queen	18.0	0	9.5	24.0	3.5	15.0	22.5	4.5	11.0	27.0	10.5	13.0
O Canada	78.0	100.0	81.0	70.0	96.5	85.0	68.0	89.0	89.0	65.5	87.0	87.0
Neither	2.5	0	4.0	3.0	0	0	2.0	4.5	0	0	2.5	0
No opinion	1.5	0	4.5	3.0	0	0	7.5	2.0	0	7.5	0	0
N.	78	54	21	97	56	27	94	45	18	168	38	23
% lang. Gp.	17.8	28.0	23.6	22.2	29.0	30.3	21.5	23.3	20.2	38.4	19.7	25.8

The largest incidence of support for God Save the Queen come from the least educated English-speaking group (28.5% N = 105). The Atlantic Provinces led in regional support for the "Queen" (43.0% N = 63).

Queen Elizabeth II was invited to visit Canada in the Fall of 1964 as a participant in the centennial celebration of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences of 1864. Not long after the invitation was accepted it became apparent that her appearance in Quebec City would become the occasion for nationalist demonstrations. Some of the more extreme nationalists declared that a visit by the Queen at a time when the "struggle" for Quebec's independence was approaching a climax amounted to a provocation and there was talk of the possibility of violence to her person. The issue aroused wide public discussion and the question of cancelling the visit came up. The Gallup Poll of April 1964, framed the question in terms of the Queen's

Table 14.1 (CIPQ - April 1964)

Q: As you know, some concern has been expressed over the safety of the Queen if she visits Quebec in October. Do you think she should cancel her trip or come as planned?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Cancel her trip	20.5	36.0	20.0	25.0
Come as planned	71.5	46.0	66.5	63.5
No opinion	8.0	18.0	13.5	11.5
N.	429	206	89	724

personal safety, but it is evident from the responses that most of them were

~~based~~ based on a combination of factors the most important of which must have been the

formal and symbolic relationship of the Queen to her Canadian realm. One can only

guess that of the 20.5% of the English sample that said "cancel her trip" perhaps about half were expressing opposition to the monarchy rather than concern for the Queen's safety. On the other hand, the 36% of the French group that urged cancellation were probably all expressing their rejection of the Queen as a symbol. As for those who thought the Queen should come as planned, it is probable that most, if not all, of the 71.5% of the ~~XX~~ English-speaking were asserting their loyalty to the monarchy, whereas of the 46% of the French a large proportion, although opposed to the monarchy, must have felt that to force the cancellation of the visit would be a sign of immaturity and bad manners. After all, the Premier of Quebec had joined the Prime Minister in issuing the invitation.

Subsequent to the Queen's visit the question of the Monarchy's importance for Canada was asked. The question was worded in a way that sought to elicit

Table 15.1 (CIPO - November 1964)

Q: On the whole do you think that the importance of the monarchy - represented by Queen Elizabeth - is increasing or decreasing in Canada?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Increasing	20.0	8.5	20.0	17.0
Decreasing	57.0	72.5	57.5	62.5
About the same	18.0	14.5	14.5	16.5
No opinion	5.0	4.5	8.0	5.0
N.	437	193	89	719

an objective evaluation from the respondents rather than an expression of sentiment or commitment. It is highly unlikely, however, that subjective feeling could be wholly avoided in the responses. This would account for the differences between the English and French respondents. The distribution of answers by education, region and age did not yield results that differed significantly from the aggregate.

A question on the British Commonwealth and one on the status of Great Britain as a world power are included in this chapter. Although it could be argued that these questions refer to aspects of the international environment, it seemed evident from the difference between English and French answers that respondents were strongly influenced by their perceptions of Britain and the Commonwealth as symbols of our historical experience. It is worth noting that these of the "Other" language group, for whom the questions must have had only a small symbolic connotation, hold a position that is intermediate between that of the English and French respondents.

Table 16.1

Q: Which of these four statements comes closest to the way you yourself feel about the British Commonwealth? (Card handed)

1. Fine example . . . different people can live and work together.
2. Nothing very spectacular, but worthwhile - we should continue to play part in it.
3. A weak organization containing too many different people divided in interests and beliefs.
4. A pale shadow of the former British Empire with no real meaning in the world today.

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Fine example	58.0	31.0	53.0	50.0
Worthwhile	26.5	17.0	18.5	23.0
Weak organization	3.5	12.5	6.5	6.5
Pale shadow	7.5	17.5	11.0	10.5
No opinion	4.5	22.0	11.0	10.0
N.	423	201	81	705

Table 17.1 (CIPO - April 1963)

Q: As you know, some people say that Great Britain's status as a world power is just about finished. What is your opinion?

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
About finished	22.5	25.0	21.0	23.0
Not about finished	57.5	25.0	35.5	46.0
Qualified	4.5	2.0	3.5	3.5
Can't say	14.5	46.5	28.5	25.0
No answer	1.0	1.5	11.5	2.5
N.	1591	742	374	2707

The difference in Table 17 shows up among those who say categorically that Britain is "not about finished". The proportion of French respondents who "can't say" is about three times that of the English-speaking on every level of education. It would seem that to an important extent "can't say" implies either indifference or a reluctance to say that Britain is "about finished."

The regional distribution shows that the Atlantic provinces which score highest in support of the Union Jack and "God Save the Queen" are also most optimistic about Britain's status.

Table 17.2 (Region)

	<u>English Only</u>		<u>Number</u>
	<u>About finished</u>	<u>Not about finished</u>	
Atlantic Provinces	14.0	65.0	236
Quebec	33.0	31.0	61
Ontario	24.5	57.5	776
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	22.0	50.0	176
Alberta	23.5	59.5	129
British Columbia	21.5	64.0	213

